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Lenau
AND
Young Germany
IN
America.

BY
THOMAS STOCKHAM BAKER.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE eighteenth century has been regarded as the representative of everything that is artificial in life and in art. Not until towards its end was there noticeable a tendency to set aside the trammels of conventionality in favor of what was supposed to be a healthier and more normal manner of life.

In direct opposition to the "enlightenment" and formalism of Europe stood the American continent—the incarnation of the crude, the primitive and the spontaneous. From the time of its discovery all utopian schemes had received their inspiration from what was supposed to be the condition of affairs on this side of the Atlantic, and it must be regarded as something more than a fortuitous circumstance, that there should be noticeable at the close of the reign of "reason" in Europe—at the commencement of the reign of the "natural," an almost universal interest in things American.

With the name of Rousseau is always associated the revolt against the artificiality of this age, and while it is impossible, and indeed quite unnecessary, to prove any direct connection between the author of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and American affairs, still it is pertinent to inquire what uncivilized country that was known at that time to him could have suggested more completely the ideas of his system of a "return to nature" than America? However this may be, whether the impressions of the American life of nature that were then current in France formed the basis for Rousseau's scheme or not, it is noteworthy that many Frenchmen of the next generation, who stood under the immediate influence of Rousseau, took the ideas of their great teacher literally and endeavoring to get back to a "natural" state embarked for America in the hope of finding here the much coveted primitive form of life.

The name of Chateaubriand suggests itself at once in this connection, and the great vogue which his novels enjoyed showed

that he had succeeded in finding a theme that was sympathetic to the European mind. Besides Chateaubriand it is known that La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Lézay-Marnésia, Crèvecoeur as well as many others of less note came to America at this time in search of inspiration, which was expected to be received from virgin nature. The enthusiasm for America was, however, by no means confined to France. The utopian scheme of Coleridge and Southey to found their Pantisocracy on the banks of the Susquehanna is of a piece with what was going on in France. In English literature there is also noticeable an interest in American subjects such as those treated in Robert Southey's *Songs of the American Indians*, Woodsworth's *Ruth* and Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*.

In Germany the movement of "Storm and Stress" is characterised by the keenest sympathy with American affairs. The play itself, which gave the name to the whole school, namely Klinger's "Sturm und Drang," had its place of action in America, and its author contemplated for some time leaving Europe to fight for American independence.

Wagner and Heinse were also about to come to America, but were prevented from doing so. Seume's poetical work on American subjects was the result of a forced visit, he having been compelled to share with the Hessians their adventures in America.

This brief introduction is sufficient to show that there is a chapter in the history of culture and the history of literature which remains to be written. It is the influence that the American aboriginal conditions have had upon European life and thought. This cannot be attributed to any especial period—not the America of to-day, but rather the general idea of primitiveness which the Western Continent has always suggested.

NICOLAUS LENAU'S AMERICAN JOURNEY.

[From what has already been said, it will be seen that the coming of Nicolaus Lenau¹ to America is an episode in the history of the influence of America upon European thought of the very greatest importance.] That a man and a poet of such eminence should, on the eve² of his success, be willing to risk the dangers and hardships of a voyage to the United States seems at first sight incomprehensible. And when it is considered how this country was regarded at that time, the undertaking seems all the more strange. America was the representative of everything that was crude and commercial, as opposed to what was artistic and intellectual. The most impossible stories about its savagery and lack of civilization were believed in Europe.³

Lenau, therefore, in leaving his home gave up, or certainly supposed he was giving up altogether, the society of educated people for the hardships, both physical and mental, of a pioneer's life. Add to this also the opposition of his friends and the dangers of the voyage, and it is at once apparent that the plan was one of considerable magnitude.

Voyages of this kind were then, of course, very unusual. The journeys of von Humboldt and Chamisso were events of national interest, and they undoubtedly gave a great stimulus to travel, besides being important as broadening the horizon of the German mind. Lenau, in one of his letters, written at the time of the

¹ Lenau's name in full was Nicolaus Franz Niembsch, Edler von Strehlenau. The name Lenau (Streh-lenau) was assumed in 1830 as a *nom de plume* on account of the severe Austrian press regulations.

² Cf. *Frankl, Zur Biographie Nikolaus Lenau's*. Wien 1885. Zweite Ausgabe, p. 34.

³ Cf. Chamisso's Werke. Berlin 1856. *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs-Expedition, in den Jahren 1815-1818, auf der Brigg Rurik, Kapitän Otto von Kotzebue*.

origin of his intention of coming to America, speaks of Chamisso, and it is not impossible that the very inception of his idea may have been influenced by this voyage round the world.¹

But notwithstanding the fact that the journey was a dangerous and unusual one, and that America appeared to the Europeans uncultured and barbarous, yet because of this very crudity and primitiveness it possessed, when viewed at a distance, many qualities which strongly appealed to the poet's imagination. In fact Lenau, because of his education and environment, was peculiarly predisposed to an undertaking of this sort.

The removal of his mother with her family to Tokay, which occurred when he was fourteen years old, was an event of the greatest importance for his future life. It is also to be considered in connection with the American journey, for at this time he acquired that love of nature² which is the most significant characteristic of his poetry. He became accustomed to and fond of a kind of nature that was unusual and in a certain sense exotic. The tame scenery of the Rhinelands and Swabia, which later became so familiar to him, with its regular and well-ordered prospects, did not satisfy him. He craved something more rugged, more uncultivated, and this he thought would be found in America.

The vastness of the Hungarian steppes also made a deep impression upon his youthful mind; an impression that was lasting, and hence the idea of the Western Continent, as the land of great distances and broad prairies, appealed to him strongly.

In Lenau's personality there was also a great deal that was primitive and in some respects almost savage. He was extremely

¹ Cf. Article by Alfred Biese in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*. Bd. 1 1887. "Die ästhetische Natur-Beseelung in antiker und moderner Poesie."

² *Letter to Sophie Löwenthal*. Stuttgart, June 6, 1840. *Lenau's Leben von Anton Schurz*. Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1855. Bd. 2 25. "Aber auch in Baden werde ich nicht lange bleiben, sondern in unsere Alpen hineinziehen. Vielleicht dasz ich dann im Spätherbst nach Stuttgart und von da nach Paris reise. Eine Cigarre im Mund und einen Plan im Kopfe musz ich fast immer haben."

passionate, intense and vacillating. His admiration for the exhibition of the elemental passions is mentioned in many places.

Frankl reports the following speech, page 83. Speaking of the Hungarians, Lenau says:—"Da sind noch in Geschichte wie in der Gegenwart, selbstbeininge Gestalten, Urkerle, wild gut und doch das Blut nicht zu vergiessen scheu, wenn es im Herzen eines Feindes flieszt." And again, page 58:—"vielmehr möchte ich so urwüchsig, so feurig und so naiv, so huszaren-tapfer wie sie sein," etc.

This was the kind of life that Lenau loved, and on his removal from Hungary he was never satisfied until he had made up his mind to see some other form of primitiveness.

He had also inherited from his parents a certain restlessness and instability, which made it practically necessary for him to be continually travelling. This necessity of being in motion is shown later, after returning from America, by the frequent trips from Vienna to Swabia and back again. One must, he says, always have "Eine Cigarre im Mund und einen Plan im Kopfe."¹

[A point of view now presents itself for the study of the complex reasons which induced Lenau to undertake this strange journey. His interest in America was almost entirely poetic. He fully recognized that he was giving up the society of cultivated people, but this had no terrors for him. He was interested in an ideal America, the product of his wonderful imagination, which shed about the whole undertaking a certain poetic halo. The America of Lenau was the land of enormous "Urwälder," traversed here and there by mighty rivers, the stillness broken by thundering cataracts. As for inhabitants, the stately red man still traversed the forests, which had stood unchanged for

¹ Letter to Sophie von Löwenthal. Stuttgart, June 6th, 1840. Lenau's Leben von Anton Schurz. Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1855. Bd. 2, 5.25 "Aber auch in Boden werde ich nicht lange bleiben, sondern in unsere Alpen hineinziehen. Vielleicht dasz ich dann in Spätherbst nach Stuttgart und von dan ach Paris reise. Eine Cigarre im Mund und einen Plan im Kopfe musz ich fast immer haben."

ages. He hoped here to find new materials for poetic treatment. America he deemed necessary for his artistic development. 7

This feeling finds expression in a very interesting manner in the following extract from one of his letters :¹—"Ich will meine Phantasie in die Schule, in die nord-amerikanischen Urwälder schicken, den Niagara will ich rauschen hören und Niagaralieder singen. Das gehört notwendig zu meiner Ausbildung. Meine Poesie lebt und webt in der Natur, und in Amerika ist die Natur schöner, gewaltiger als in Europa. Ein ungeheurer Vorrath der herrlichsten Bilder erwartet mich dort, eine Fülle göttlicher Auftritte, die noch daleigt jungfräulich und unberührt, wie der Boden der Urwälder." And in another letter² written at this time, he says :—"Der ungeheuere Vorrath schöner Naturscenen ist in fünf Jahren kaum erschöpft . . . Dort will ich meine Phantasie in die Schule, die Gewälder schicken . . . künstlerische Ausbildung ist mein höchster Lebenszweck, alle Kräfte meines Geistes, das Glück meines Gemüthes betracht' ich als Mittel dazu."

Thus, America appeared to him a vast repository of poetical subjects. Few had worked this field, and it is barely possible the great success of Chateaubriand's American novels may have been present in his mind.

In Lenau's poetry there is ever noticeable a longing for rest, for seclusion and solitude³—perhaps alone, perhaps with his loved one. There is a desire to get "close to nature." This same state of mind is apparent also in his preparation for the journey. There was an undefined feeling that everything would be blissful and perfect in the midst of the idyllic surroundings which his fancy had pictured.

Even American political life was young and therefore in the

¹ Letter of Lenau to Schurz, Heidelberg, March 16, 1832. *Schurz, Leben*, I, p. 161.

² *Mayer*, p. 61.

³ Cf. Nicolaus Lenau. *Erinnerung und Betrachtung*, von Berthold Auerbach Wien 1876, p. 21 "Dennoch erkannte man auch im Gespräche, dass Lenau eine einsame, in sich gekehrte Natur war. 'Einsamkeit ist die zweite Mutter Gottes,' spricht er in seinen Briefen aus."

eyes of the European picturesque.¹ The United States as a political state was not yet fifty years old. The circumstances of its foundation were ideal and its preservation and growth almost providential.

During the latter part of his course at the Gymnasium in Pesth,² Lenau made the acquaintance of a student named Joseph von Kövesdy, who although several years his senior became his fast friend and later his tutor. This young Kövesdy had a short time before, when only thirteen years old, together with another boy formed a plan of running away to America. They started on their journey and got as far as Salzburg. There, however, they were compelled to abandon their undertaking and return in disgrace to Pesth. This adventure of Kövesdy when it was told later to Lenau produced a deep impression, and from this time may be dated his interest in the United States.

As a student, in discussing his plans for the future, he expresses³ his willingness to run the risk of becoming a "Choleraarzt," provided he could thereby gain an opportunity of seeing France and England. Nothing came of this scheme because he never "ended his course." His desire for travel and for making the American journey could never have been gratified had he not fallen heir to a small fortune.

Lenau's grandmother "Katharina von Niembsch" had died in

¹ Note also Byrons interest in the Greek struggle for independence. Cf. Auerbach, p. 27: "Lenau, der auf das Moderne gerichtete Dichter, sehnt sich nicht nach der vergangenen schönen Götterwelt, sein Verlangen zieht ihn schon früh in die als Zukunftsverheissung erscheinende neue Welt, nach Amerika. Byron schiffte nach Griechenland und trat in eine weltgeschichtlich erscheinende That ein. Lenau betrat das Land der Verheissung, und die Culturarbeit gab ihm keine Handhabe. Byron trat in eine gehobene Gesamtstimmung ein in Griechenland, Lenau kam in Amerika in den grossen Werkeltag mit den zahllosen brausenden Maschinen, oder in die lautlose Stille des Urwalds."

² Lenau was at the Gymnasium in Pesth from 1812 to 1815. Cf. Schurz I, p. 17.

³ Lenau's letter to Schurz, Heidelberg, Nov. 8, 1831. Schurz I, p. 126. "Was ich nach Beendigung meines Curses thun werde, wissen die Götter. Vielleicht findet sich dann eine Aussicht als Choleraarzt nach Frankreich, nach England zu reisen. Ich würde so etwas annehmen, um recht in der Welt herumzufahren."

September, 1830, and had left her estate to Lenau and his sisters.¹ This money enabled him to leave Austria, where the regulations of the censorship prevented him from publishing his poems, and to seek a publisher elsewhere.

He at once broke off his medical studies at Vienna and hastened² to Stuttgart with letters to several of the members of the Swabian School of poets, having, however, promised his friends and relatives in Vienna that he would continue his studies at Heidelberg or Würzburg.

Along with this plan of coming to Stuttgart to secure a publisher, there was already present in his mind the idea of emigrating to America. This desire was quickened by the recent loss of a considerable part of the newly acquired inheritance by unfortunate speculation. He thought of making one more attempt to become rich, by investing his remaining funds in American land.

The plan, however, was still quite undefined. His stay in Heidelberg during the winter of 1831 and 1832 was interrupted by visits to his several friends—to Mayer in Waiblingen, to Kerner in Weinsberg, to Uhland in Tübingen and to the Reinbecks, Schwab and others in Stuttgart. But in spite of the pleasure derived from these visits he became dissatisfied soon after arriving in Heidelberg.

The clinic at the university offered few interesting cases and his relations to Lotta Gmelin now begin to cause him a great deal of unhappiness. He seems to have been really in love with her, but he had found³ so little happiness himself that he was afraid he could bring none to another. Furthermore his position was so unsettled that his income was not sufficient to support a wife. His frame of mind became gloomier and gloomier. It is therefore not at all surprising that the dormant interest in America was re-awakened.

The first clear intimation of Lenau's intention of coming to

¹ Lenau's grand-mother left the sum of 30,000 florins.

² Lenau left Vienna near the end of June, 1831.

³ Letter to Schurz, November 8, 1831. Schurz I, p. 28.

America is found in Kerner's letter¹ to Mayer of the 11th of March, 1832. "Niembsch ist von Amerika ganz besessen, schrieb sich in Actiengesellschaft ein und schiffte am ersten Mai dahin. Er lässt sich nicht einreden, denn seine ganz dämonische Phantasie malt ihm die Dinge vor, die ganz nach seinen Wünschen sind. This "Actiengesellschaft" was the "Ulmer Verein für Auswanderer."

In the early part of the year 1832 a great activity manifested itself among the shipping agents of the various ports, especially those of Amsterdam. Representatives of these agents scoured the country for the purpose of securing human freight for their vessels. They were always gorgeously dressed, wore great quantities of jewelry, and gave the most glowing accounts of the riches which were to be had in America almost for the asking.² The political disturbances in Germany had produced a widespread feeling of discontent,³ so that the appearance of these agents with their lavish promises was sufficient to produce considerable enthusiasm for emigration. Societies⁴ were formed, especially in the countries along the Rhine, for emigrating *en masse* to the United States. The agitation spread among all classes, the peasants, however, being the ones most interested. Lenau heard of it and his mind was made up immediately to become a member of the "Ulmer Verein."

Did political questions have any weight in inducing him to take this step? Unquestionably America represented to the

¹ Lenau's Briefe an einen Freund, hrsg. von Karl Mayer. Stuttgart, 1853, p. 58.

² Cf. Eickhoff. In der neuen Heimat, p. 5.

³ Cf. *Niles Register*, vol. vii, 4th series, September, 1832, to February, 1833, p. 196. "*Germany*.—Because of late proceedings against the rights of the people in Germany, large numbers are preparing to seek peace and safety in other lands. The general attention is turned towards the United States and a very large and useful increase may be expected in our population in the ensuing year—if nothing shall happen among ourselves to forbid a hope of enjoying those blessings which the oppressed desire to enjoy."

⁴ One of the most famous of these was the so-called Giessener Gesellschaft, of which Paul Follen and Friederich Münch were members. It left Giessen in two sections—the first division under Follen left Giessen February, 1834. The second under Münch, April, 1834. Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, I, 89.

minds of Europeans the idea of personal freedom, which was rarely found at home, and in Lenau's poems¹ we find frequent references to the United States as the land of liberty. But, as has been said above, the interest of Lenau in America was poetic, and in so far as American freedom was poetic, just so far was this a motive for his voyage. Upon announcing his intention of coming to America he was met by the very decided opposition of his friends² in Swabia, who looked upon the whole project as one of his whims. This opposition, however, soon lessened when it was found out that he was in earnest and determined to go in spite of all discouragement. Kerner becomes less outspoken in his objection, and finally in a letter to Mayer (*Mayer* p. 63) he has the following very significant passage: "Ich kann gegen Niembsch's Entschlusz nichts sagen, da ich bei gleicher Kraft, Phantasie, Lage vielleicht das Gleiche thun würde, aber

¹ Deutsche National Literatur edition of Lenau's Werke, hrsg. von Max Koch, vol. i, p. 117—"Der Maskenball."

"Nach den Freiheit Paradiesen
Nehmen wir den raschen Zug,
Wo in heil'gen Waldverlieszen,
Kein Tryann sich Throne schlug."

Cf. *Abschiedlied eines auswandernden Portugiesen*, p. 95

"Du neue Welt, du freie Welt,
An deren blüthenreichen Strand
Die Flut der Tyrannei zerschellt,
Ich grüße dich, mein Vaterland!"

² Cf. letter of Kerner to Mayer, March 11, 1832. Also the following reference from Ludwig Uhland, *Seine Freunde und Zeitgenossen; Erinnerungen von Karl Mayer*, Stuttgart, 1867, vol. ii, p. 121: "Andre Kerner'sche Briefe dieser Zeit habe ich bereits in 'Lenau's Briefe an einen Freund' mitgetheilt. Niembsch betrieb damals schon seine später ausgeführte Reise nach Nordamerika und versetzte dadurch Kerner und mich in vielfache Aufregung. Sein besonderer Gemüthszustand machte uns nicht ohne Grund besorgt, welchem Geschehniß er dort entgegengehen werde. Ich schrieb darüber und namentlich über einen Brief Lenau's vom 13 März 1832 in trüber Stimmung an Uhland den 18 März 1832."

Lenau's sister was also very much opposed to this journey. Cf. letter to him Wien, March 26, 1832. Schurz vol. i, p. 164.

"Meinen Schmerz über deine Reise kann ich dir nicht schildern. . . . Die Natur musz wohl groszparadiesisch in jenem Lande sein; wenn aber die Menschen so wären, wie mein Anton glaubt! . . . Wenn du mich liebst, mein Bruder, so gehe dorthin nicht!" etc.

ich liebe ihn zu sehr, dasz es mir dadurch nicht Angst und bange werden sollte, und so wird es Dir auch gehen Allerdings musz man zu seiner Reise nun das Beste sagen und wer weisz, ob *ich* nicht auf das nächste Frühjahr auch dahin abgehen werde. Die Kinder und das Rikele treiben sehr an mir."

His 5,000 florins were invested in the "Ulmer Verein" and Lenau was determined to go in spite of all opposition. In return for this sum he was promised a tract of land in Missouri consisting of a thousand acres. Missouri at this time had been brought before the German public in a very attractive way by the publication of Gottfried Duden's book, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerika's*, etc. It obtained a wide European circulation and was instrumental in attracting public attention to a part of America about which up to that time but little had been known. Lenau was familiar with this work and mentioned it in one of his letters.¹

The number of persons who were to be in the party is spoken of in different places as being, 80, 100 and 200. He had invited a young friend from Warsaw, Johann Matuschinski,² who was also a visitor at Kerner's house, to accompany him. Lenau offered to pay all expenses, but before leaving he found it would be too expensive, so Matuschinski went to Tübingen to complete his medical studies. The other members of the company were Swabian peasants,³ who were emigrating in the hope of

¹ Letter to Schurz, Heidelberg, March 16, 1832. (Schurz, I, p. 163). "Wenn Ihr mich aber in Gedanken begleiten wollt, so leset die Bëschreibung von Nord-Amerika, die kürzlich ein gewisser Duden herausgegeben hat."

² Matuschinski was a Polish refugee whom Kerner had taken into his house. Lenau speaks of him as follows: (Schurz, I, p. 167). "Ich habe einen sehr lieben Freund zum Reisegefährten, einen polnischen Stabsarzt, durchaus gebildet und sehr liebenswürdig; . . . er ist Virtuos auf der Flöte und sehr empfänglich für Poesie, hat auch einen richtigen Geschmack." There seems to be considerable variation in the way the name is spelt. Schurz has it Mattusinsky, Matuschinski and Matuszynski.

³ Cf. Auerbach, p. 16—"Ich hatte viel Erquickung von der Art, wie Lenau das schwäbische Bauernleben erfasst hatte. Er kannte es genau, war er in Gemeinschaft mit schwäbischen Bauern nach Amerika ausgewandert."

bettering their fortunes. The poet was doubtless the only educated person among them.

Already by the first of April, fraud had been discovered in the "Auswanderungsverein," and Lenau gave up his shares and speaks of choosing Florida as his destination instead of Missouri.¹ His interest, however, in America does not decrease.

During all this time the greatest enthusiasm was displayed at the preparations that were being made.² Kerner is asked³ to make an examination of the medicine chest of the colony, which had been given over to his keeping. To the question of fire-arms⁴ a great deal of attention was also given.

In the first letters containing references to America, Lenau speaks of remaining five years, but soon the trouble he is having with the managers of the emigration society cools his ardor considerably and he hints at returning in a few months. He now says: "Ich will mich etwa zwei Monate dort aufhalten und dann unendlich bereichert zurückkehren in mein geliebtes Oesterreich," and in another letter⁵ he speaks of returning the following Autumn. This desire to hasten back was quickened also by a law made in Austria which decreed that any Austrian citizen remaining long absent from home should forfeit his citizenship.

¹ Lenau to Kerner Stuttgart, April 1, 1832. Schurz vol. I, p. 165—"Du, lieber Bruder, mit der Actiengesellschaft stinkt es, ist allerlei Gesindel dabei. . . . Ich ziehe mich zurück von den Actien. Sage meinem Mattusinsky, wir werden nach Florida gehen auf eigne Faust."

² Mayer says, p. 65: "Diesz zeigte die Masse von Vorräthen (ich erinnere mich z. b. einer Anzahl Zündhütchen), die er für sein amerikanisches Leben einkaufte, und womit er gleichfalls, wie mit der Unternehmung im Groszen, nicht unbedeutend in Schaden gekommen sein wird." . . . Letter of Kerner to Schurz, October 24, 1850. Schurz, vol. I, p. 189—"In meinem Gartenhause wohnend, bereitete sich Niembsch zu seiner Reise nach Amerika vor, machte Einkäufe von Weisz-zeug, Stiefeln, Waffen, und freute sich gar sehr auf die "Urwälder," um dort Opposums, ein Thier, das sich tot stellt sobald man ihm auf den Hals kommt, zu fangen."

³ Letter of Lenau to Kerner, Stuttgart, May 4. Schurz, vol. I, p. 168.

⁴ Mattusinski writes to Lenau on May 6th: "Jetzt haben wir zwei Doppelflinten, eine einfache und drei Paar Pistolen; mit denen kann man sich schon in ein Urwäldchen wagen."

⁵ Lenau to Schurz, Stuttgart, May 19th. Schurz, vol. I, p. 175.

In a letter written May 19th to Schurz, Lenau says he expects to start on his journey in three days, but the company was detained, and again in a letter¹ to Mayer he announces that he will leave Heidelberg on the 12th of June. It is probable that there was another delay of a few days in Heidelberg, but in a letter² dated June 23rd, written to Kerner from Mannheim, he says that he will embark on the 25th on the boat which is to convey the party down the Rhine to Amsterdam. He was apparently again delayed a few days, but it is known from a letter to Emilie Reinbeck that he was on his way to Amsterdam on the 2nd of July.

The boat in which the journey down the Rhine was made moved very slowly, and the delays, together with the bad food and unsatisfactory sleeping accommodations, provoked considerable discontent, so that when the two managers of the expedition, who had waited behind, came up with the party in the latter part of July, a great storm broke over their heads. Their appearance was indeed the signal for a general revolt. The culprits were seized and imprisoned until a kind of court could be improvised. Lenau, being the best educated member of the party, was chosen judge. The prisoners were brought before the court. Testimony was heard on both sides, and after reviewing the case the judge sentenced them to close confinement in the hold of the boat.

This was not, however, the end of the episode. Upon their arrival in Holland the prisoners, in some way, succeeded in getting word to the authorities informing them of their arrest, but when the improvised judge appeared in court the managers were shown to have acted so badly that no further action was taken.³

¹ Mayer, p. 82.

² Schurz, vol. I, p. 181.

³ The deception that was practised upon the company of emigrants of which Lenau was a member was only one of a long series of outrages. From the very beginning of the emigration to America, most horrible accounts are given of the sufferings which the travellers had to undergo. The poor peasant, oppressed and almost starving, was led to suppose by the impressive looking

Another incident occurred on the border between Holland and Germany, at a town called Lobith, which very nearly terminated his journey. Owing to the numerous delays, his passport had expired, so that when he presented it at the frontier he was not permitted to proceed. The Burgomaster, in fact, threatened to send him back. Fortunately, however, he had attracted the notice of a custom official by his wonderful violin playing.¹ The following passage from a letter describes the adventure very happily:—"Zum Glücke traf ich in dem kleinen Neste (Lobith) einen enthusiastischen Musiker in der Person eines Zollbeamten. Dieser (*i. e.*, the "Zollbeamte") abgeschnitten von jeder musikalischen Seele in seinem miserablen holländischen Flecken, schnappte nach mir wie nach einem Leckerbissen. Ich musste mich schon bequemen, die scheuszlichsten Duetten für Violine und Clarinette mit dem Kerl täglich mehrer Sturden durchzuhumpeln, dafür empfahl er mich dem Bürgermeister. Es wurde eine musikalische Abendunterhaltung gegeben, wobei seine bürgermeisterliche Gnade zugegen and über meine Passagen auf der Geige dermaszen entzückt zu sein beliebten, dasz sie mir die Passage über die Grenze durch die Finger sahen," etc.

The journey down the Rhine was in the main disappointing to the traveller. The difficulties with the managers, the serious discomforts of the boat, the expired passport all contributed to make the beginning of his journey inauspicious. Before leaving Mainz, in a letter to Kerner he says: "Wäre ich schon wieder zurück aus Amerika."² He had a foreboding that his under-

agents who were scouring the country, that on the other side of the ocean, happiness and riches were attainable to every one. Eickhoff says, p. 5: "Sie alle warben auf dem deutschen Markte um Menschen, um lebendige Fracht." It was at first quite unusual that the emigrant should prepay his fare. The agents offered not only to transport them free, but even if necessary to advance money enough for clothes and necessities. But upon their arrival in America the hapless travellers were farmed out until they had earned enough to repay everything, frequently, in fact, until they had paid for all expenditures which had been made upon them several times.

¹ Lenau was a remarkably good violinist and is said to have been particularly fond of Beethoven and the Hungarian folksongs.

² Mannheim, June 23. Schurz, vol. I, p. 181.

taking would prove a failure but seems to have been drawn on by a sort of demonic influence—what he called “eine Gravitation nach dem Unglück.”¹

Lenau could have obtained a position as *Doctor Legens* at Tübingen had he been willing to go through the form of getting his diploma as Doctor of Philosophy, which in his case would have been a mere formality.² But even this was not sufficient to prevent him from going. Death itself³ he said would not have deterred him from setting out.

The scenery along the banks of the Rhine he found attractive,⁴ but he rebelled against the thrift of the people, which made them cultivate every inch of the soil. Nor did his impression of Holland⁵ dispel the disappointment which the Rhine journey had produced. He had looked forward to the life in Amsterdam with great interest. The city interested him—especially in its character as seaport: “Ich will dort in den Matrosenkneipen herumschleichen und einige Studien machen in der Menschenkenntnis.” But once arrived in the city he finds it “ein wahres Ungeheuer von Stadt.” The windmills, which remind him of drunken men beating the air, are sufficient to drive him out of the city. The galleries interested him most of all, especially the paintings of Ruysdael, Nikalaus Berchen and Correggio. The women and cows are classed together and both found to be fine, but the general impression of Holland upon him was disappointing. Still he looks forward with interest and even enthusiasm to the real journey he is about to begin.

The New World fires his imagination again as the land of wealth, and he pictures himself upon his return, a capitalist with large interests living upon the wealth which will come from his new investments. He will now remain only long enough to make his purchases,—i. e., from three to eight weeks.

¹ Mayer, p. 68—“Wüszst’ ich auch ganz gewisz, dasz ich umkommen werde, ich glaube, ich reiste doch. Mich regiert eine Art Gravitation nach dem Unglück.” (Lenau to Mayer no date).

² Letter to Schurz, Amsterdam, July 27. Schurz, I, 187.

³ Lenau to Emilie Reinbeck, Amsterdam, July 25, 1832. Schurz, I, 184.

⁴ Cf. Lenau’s poem “Am Rhein.”

⁵ Cf. Lenau’s poem “Auf eine Holländische Landschaft.”

The poetic interest with which America had inspired him seems by this time to have become somewhat lessened; he may even have caught something of the commercial spirit from his peasant travelling companions, whose interest in America was somewhat narrow. They supposed that America was the place where meat was to be had three times a day, and where wealth could be obtained almost unsought.

The following extract from a letter to Schurz¹ shows the extent to which Lenau's dreams of wealth had gone: "Ich werde mir dort eine Strecke Landes kaufen von etwa tausend Morgen, und den Philipunn als Pächter darauf setzen—Der ganze Vertrag wird natürlich vor Gericht ratificiert. In drei bis vier Jahren hat sich dann der Werth meines Eigenthums wenigstens auf das Sechsfache gesteigert. Lächle nicht Anton, es liegen sichere Berechnungen vor. Der Ankauf des Landas macht von tausend Morgen etwa 3000 fl. in vier Jahren ist alles kultivirt, und dann kann es, wenn es gut geht, 3000 fl. jährlich tragen. Ich kann mich auf meine Lente ganz verlassen, und eine gute Rente in Oesterreich genießen. Der schlimmste aber undenkbare Fall wäre, daz sie mir ein Jahr lang meine Rente nicht schicken, dann wäre ich halt gezwungen, nach America zu schreiben an ein Handelshaus, dem ich empfohlen bin, oder einen anderen Pächter setzen zu lassen."

The vessel which had been engaged to convey the party to America was the ship "Baron van der Capellan," 672 tons, J. A. Tholen, Master. She had been an East India merchantman and this was her first trip to America. Her proprietor was a man named Westerman who lived in Amsterdam. After putting to sea the travellers found out that she was very old and almost unseaworthy.²

Before setting sail Lenau wrote that Captain Tholen had been

¹ Amsterdam, July 27, 1832. Schurz, vol. I, 186.

² Solide Häuser geben sich dort in der Regel mit diesem Geschäft nicht ab. Die Schiffe, welche zum Transport der Einwanderer eingerichtet werden, sind in der Regel von der schlechtesten Qualität, alt und baufällig, und die Kapitäne, deren Führung sie anvertraut werden, unwissende, unerfahrene und brutale Menschen." (Eickhoff, p. 16).

very kind, and that he expected much pleasure from his society.¹ The captain gave up one of his rooms so that the traveller was quite isolated from the "grausigem Volke der Auswanderer."² The captain's black steward and a Philip Huber, who had been brought along, acted as their servants. The ship, after discharging her passengers and cargo at Baltimore, was expected to return to Amsterdam. There was, however, a possibility that instead of coming back to Amsterdam, she would go to the East Indies. Lenau writes: "Es ist aber möglich, dasz es von Baltimore nach Ostindien abgeht, und vielleicht mich mitnimmt. Ungeheuer reizend wäre die Reise nach Java. Ein kleiner Abstecher auf den Cap, auf die Insel St. Helena, sehr reizend."

The ship leaves Amsterdam, after a long delay, late in July, the exact date being uncertain. It is known, however, that the passengers were on board the ship and in the Texel Channel on the first of August. Here the "Baron van der Capellan" was run into by another vessel and delay was caused. Finally, however, they put to sea.

Lenau had looked forward to the voyage across with very great enthusiasm, and this was one of the things which did not disappoint him in spite of the terrible sufferings which he must have undergone. Before starting it was expected that the voyage would not last more than six weeks. Owing, however, to rough weather and the bad condition of the ship, Baltimore was not reached until they had been out ten weeks. Lenau has left in his letters but a fragmentary account of his experiences at sea, but he frequently stated afterwards that the sight of the ocean was one of the most important events in his life. He says: "Wohl ist das Seeleben ein Erhabenes" (Lenau to Mayer Aug. 1, 1832). Lenau to Emilie Reinbeck, August, 1832: "Einige Blicke in die See waren mir bereits gegönnt. Ich glaube, ich werde eine leidenschaftliche Liebe zum Meere fassen. Ich spüre schon den Reichthum von poetischen Ideen, die mir die Natur auf meiner Reise entgegenstreuen wird."

¹ Lenau to Schurz, Amsterdam, July 27. Schurz, vol. I, p. 186.

² Lenau to Emilie Reinbeck, August, 1832. Schurz, vol. I, p. 189.

Soon after the ship had put to sea the carpenter announced that the vessel was in such a condition that it could not weather a severe storm. This caused great excitement and anxiety. Lenau said in a letter to Schurz, written after his arrival in Baltimore, "Es ist doch eine fatale Empfindung, wenn man sich abends in seine Hängematte legt und nicht weisz, ob das Schiff in der Nacht auseinander gehen werde und man in den Wellen erwache, gerade auf so lange, um die Todesangst noch recht zu fühlen. Aber daran habe ich mich gewöhnt." Violent storms were encountered, and on several occasions it was believed that the vessel would sink. In addition to this the supplies were nearly exhausted. Finally, Lenau fell ill with the scurvy.

Besides these terrible dangers and sufferings during the long voyage of ten weeks, the absence of all congenial companionship was felt very keenly by Lenau. To a man of his sensibilities the association with a crowd of mercenary peasants during this long period must have been a bitter experience. Captain Tholen, from whom he had expected so much, also proved uncongenial, so that the only thing left for him was the contemplation of the ocean, and it is remarkable that after the terrible experiences through which he had gone he writes, immediately after his arrival, "Ich bin jetzt um ein Gutes reicher, dasz ich auch das Meer kennen gelernt habe. Die nachhaltigste und beste Wirkung dieser Seereise ist ein gewisser feierlicher Ernst, der sich durch den langen Anblick des Erhabenen in mir befestigt hat. Das sind die zwei Hauptmomente der Natur, die mich gebildet haben: diesz atlantische Meer und die oesterreichischen Alpen.¹ The sea at rest seemed as impressive to him as it did during a storm, and, as in the above quoted passage, he ever afterwards mentioned the ocean as one of the most important sources of inspiration.²

(The vessel at length arrived in the Chesapeake Bay and Lenau

¹ Lenau to Schurz, Baltimore, Oct. 16, 1832. Schurz, I, p. 196.

² Letter to Sophie von Löwenthal. Stuttgart, June 13, 1840. Schurz, vol. II, p. 26. "Von Beethoven, dem Meere, dem Hochgebirg und Ihnen habe ich ja das Beste und Meiste gelernt oder vielmehr durch Euch vier von Gott."

first landed upon American soil on the eighth of October. This was somewhere down the bay, for the vessel did not arrive at Baltimore until the 11th or 12th.¹)

It is hard to conceive of a more discouraging succession of reverses. First the opposition of his friends, then the discovery of the insecurity of the immigration society, the repeated delays, the difficulty in regard to his passport. Finally, the horrors of the voyage—ten weeks in a death-trap of a ship, surrounded with the most common-place people, ill with a distressing disease. His disappointment is therefore not surprising, and his feelings must have been those of patient resignation to whatever other misfortunes were to befall him.

To continue the list of calamities, Baltimore was at this time visited by a severe epidemic of cholera,² the ravages of which were so great that 3572 deaths from this disease alone are reported for the year 1832. Lenau's stay in Baltimore was, therefore, shorter than he at first intended. During his visit he lived at the Exchange Hotel.³

¹ The following is the Custom House entry of the vessel:—

Ship Baron Van der Capellan,

J. A. Tholen, Master.

692 tons burthen. Arrived from Amsterdam, Oct. 12, 1832.

Had passengers, but there is no record of names or numbers.

Cargo:—118 Millstones

1 package matches

1 " linen

Wooden clocks

German books

Woolens

According to this, the vessel arrived on the twelfth of October, but this was probably the date of the entry of the vessel. It arrived in the Baltimore harbor on the eleventh. Besides the above information it has been ascertained that there were 253 passengers, and that the consignee was Karthaus Kurtz & Co., whose offices according to Matchett's Baltimore Directory for 1835 were 45 South Gay Street.

² For information concerning Baltimore at this time, the following two books are important: F. Lucas, *Picture of Baltimore in 1832* (Baltimore, 1832); Varle, *View of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1833).

³ "The Exchange Hotel extended from Exchange Place through to Second Street, near Gay Street; the property of the Commercial Exchange Company, was, for many years, one of the most popular hotels in Baltimore. It occupied

Baltimore was then a city of 81,000 inhabitants, of whom about 14,000 had been born in Germany, and at this time the German element was more active than that in New York. It was also the most important American port for German immigrants, especially for those going West, for the national road to Wheeling made travel to the West much easier than from any of the other sea-ports. It is not likely that Lenau found much in Baltimore to interest him as he staid only three weeks. While at the Exchange Hotel he became acquainted with a young student from Hessen, who was also a musician. After having heard Lenau play the violin and the guitar, upon which latter instrument he performed with very unusual skill, this young musician proposed a concert tour to Mexico, South America and Australia. He was so enthusiastic in regard to the scheme that Lenau was almost won over, but lack of funds and the bitter disappointment which had befallen him at every point induced him to dismiss the idea. Instead of this he bought a horse and began the long ride, in mid-winter, to Economy, Pennsylvania.

The journey from Baltimore was made along the national road. In passing through Bedford, Pennsylvania, he became acquainted with a certain Alexander King, who, upon hearing Lenau play the *Rackoczy March*, was so pleased with his wonderful performance that he sought to make his acquaintance. Conversation was, however, difficult. Mr. King did not know German, Lenau did not know English, and so they fell back upon Latin as a medium. When Lenau parted from this Mr. King he was presented with a copy of Mitchell's "Guide through the United States" with the following sentence on the fly-leaf:

"Alexander King
de Bedfordia
dedit ad ejus amicum dominum Niembsch."

a part of the present Custom House Building." Scharf, Baltimore City and County, p. 515.

At the time of Lenau's visit it was managed by J. H. Page. It had been recently erected and fitted up by William Patterson, Robert Oliver, John Donnell and Sons and Jerome Bonaparte.

From Bedford the traveler pushed on to Economy, where, from the combined effects of the scurvy and the exposure to the severity of an American winter, he became ill and was compelled to spend part of the winter in bed. Lenau's intention when he left Baltimore had been to hurry on as fast as possible, so that he might get a look at some of the American "Urwälder" and the Niagara and then to return immediately home. From this, however, he was prevented by his illness.

Here his musical acquirements were again useful to him. The man who made the fires in the little hotel where he was staying was, it would seem, not one of those whom Lenau had characterized as "stone dead to all higher life," for every morning when he came to his room he would refuse to make the fire for the invalid unless he played something on the violin.

The next place which he visited, after his recovery, was Pittsburg. Here he became acquainted with C. L. Volz,¹ a prominent merchant, who welcomed him warmly. Volz was able to offer Lenau most welcome hospitality during his sojourn in Pittsburg, and he ever afterwards looked back with pleasure upon his association with this man.

On the 7th of February, 1833, Lenau, in company with this Herr Volz and W. R. Riedlen, revisited the Rappist settlement at Economy.² This fact, mentioned by A. Grün, is ascertained from the dedication of Riedlen's book, *Guter Rath an Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten*, a German version of J. P. Davis' *American Guide Book*. This work was published by Riedlen in 1834 in Aarau, and is dedicated to Lenau and Volz in "freundlicher Erinnerung an" this excursion.

¹ Lenau had a letter to Volz from a mutual Swabian friend. Volz was a German-American merchant in Pittsburg, who had come to America in 1812. He had been very successful in business, so that he was able to offer his guest a most comfortable home. He welcomed to his home all cultivated Germans who came to that part of America. In 1825 Herzog Bernhard von Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach was his guest. (Cf. Bernhard Herzog von Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, *Reise durch Nord-Amerika in den Jahren 1825 und 1826*. Weimar 1828). Further information concerning Volz is to be found in Koerner's *Das Deutsche Element in Amerika*, p. 45.

² Economy is 18 miles to the northwest of Pittsburg on the Ohio River. It was settled in 1824 by the Rappists, who, having sold their settlement at New Harmony, Ind. to the followers of Robert Owen, sought a new home in Pennsylvania.

Two letters were written from New Lisbon,¹ Ohio, a small town just across the border from Pennsylvania, one on the 6th of March, the other on the 7th. He went to New Lisbon in quest of land, which he thought might prove a good investment. Either on the way there, or on one of his prospecting tours in the neighborhood, he was thrown from a sleigh and cut about the head. From this opening in his head he says² he thinks all plans for continuing his journey in America have made their exit. On account of this accident he was compelled to remain in his room in the hotel for several days.

It has been conjectured by many writers that Lenau bought his farm near New Lisbon, or, at the very least, that it lay in Ohio. As a matter of fact, however, it was located in Crawford County, Pennsylvania. After his recovery from the wound in his head he went once more to Economy, and there, on the 15th of March, concluded an agreement with a certain Ludwig H.,³ a carpenter from Lauffen, in Würtemberg, whom Lenau had praised⁴ as the "rechtschaffenste und tüchtigste Mann den ich jemals aus derlei Ständen kennen gelernt habe."

This carpenter had accompanied him throughout the entire journey, and it had been Lenau's intention before sailing from Europe to give him charge of whatever land he might purchase in America. His servant, Philip Huber, he had also intended to leave in America on some of his land, but Huber found temporary employment in a coal mine.

Lenau had bought, as has been stated above, a farm in Crawford County in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. This farm, or more correctly this land, for most of it was not tillable, consisted of two quarter sections of government land, numbers 2594, 2595 and one-eighth of a section, 2596, four hundred acres

¹ New Lisbon, the capital of Columbiana County, Ohio, is situated on the Little Beaver River about 35 miles east of Canton and 50 miles northwest of Pittsburg.

² Letter to Klemm. Lisbon am Ohio (?). March 6, 1832. Schurz, I, 206. New Libson is not on the Ohio, but in the State of Ohio.

³ The name of this man has nowhere in any account of Lenau's life been given in full.

⁴ Letter to Schurz, Amsterdam, July 27, 1832. Schurz, I, 186.

in all. According to the terms of the contract these four hundred acres were leased to Ludwig H. for a period of eight years ; in addition six hundred dollars, part in cash and part in stock, etc., were advanced by Lenau. In return for this each year $37\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land must be cleared, cultivated and fenced. During the period of eight years the following buildings were to be erected: a two-story 44 x 36 foot log dwelling-house with a shingle roof, a barn and the necessary stables. A certain number of cattle were to be sold and the proceeds given to Lenau at the expiration of the lease ; and finally, H. was expected to till the land entirely at his own expense, and in the years 1836, 1837, to pay one hundred dollars annual rent, and two hundred dollars a year from 1838 to 1840.

Should Lenau, within the eight years, wish to sell the land, then he must pay H. either the sum of twelve hundred dollars or give him one-fifth of the farm.

This contract shows a most astounding lack of business ability on the part of Lenau. The agreement is so complicated and at the same time shows such a lack of knowledge concerning the methods of farming in America that it is not strange that the investment turned out badly. The Würtemberg carpenter fled to Canada in the year 1834. Philip Huber, Lenau's valet on board the ship remained faithful, but he was not able to be of much service to his former employer.

The place was finally sold to pay the taxes, but the purchaser, whose name was Jung, in the year 1847, several years after Lenau had been confined in the insane asylum, sent Schurz 1050 francs as part payment of what was due him, but which he had neglected to collect ; other payments were continued regularly up to the time of Lenau's death in 1850.

As soon as the contract had been signed at Economy, Lenau started on his ride to see the Niagara Falls. When still a long way off he was very deeply impressed at the thunderous roar of the Falls.¹ This was one of the few things he saw in America

¹ The poems "Verschiedene Deutung," "Niagara" and "Die Drei Indianer," owe their origin to the impressions received while viewing Niagara Falls.

which were not disappointing, and the impressions received there were lasting.

From Niagara he continued his journey across the State of New York and down the Hudson Valley to New York City. The ride down the Hudson is remarkable, from the fact that this valley, along with the Niagara Falls and an "Urwald" in the West, was the sight which gave him the most pleasure. Upon his arrival in New York he presented letters to one of the leading German merchants of the city, Herr von Post, who received him hospitably and did everything possible to make his stay in New York agreeable. He also met Martin Van Buren, afterwards President, but at that time Secretary of State of the United States.

It has been possible to get but little information in regard to this part of Lenau's journey, as none of the letters written at this time have been preserved. It is known that he left Economy the latter part of March, 1833. Considerable time must have been spent on the road from Economy to New York by the way of Niagara, so that it is fair to suppose that he arrived in New York about the 20th of April. He remained in the neighborhood of New York about two weeks before embarking for Bremen. He arrived in Germany early in June.

Thus ended Lenau's American journey. It had been a disappointment to him throughout. Although from the point of view of poetic material gathered it was not unfruitful, yet this fell far below what he had expected, both in quality and quantity. His ideal of America had been entirely different from what he encountered. Had it been possible for him to ignore the Americans with their prosaic business enterprises and their lack of culture and place himself right in the midst of the primitive American life he would have been satisfied. At least this is what he had supposed when he left Europe, but it is more than likely that he never could have been happy here, even for a short time. —

The journey was made at a very unfortunate season. He arrived in October and left early in May; he saw nothing of the

American spring and summer, and unfortunately the winter of 1832 and 1833 was one of unusual severity and duration. His disappointment was so great that afterwards it was with difficulty that he could be induced to speak of his adventures here. His biographers have accordingly passed over this part of his life very quickly. They attached very little importance to it, although in a letter written in 1834 he said the past two years were the most important in his life. Materials were hard to obtain and Lenau disliked all reference to it, so it became customary to ignore it, or at least to underestimate its importance.

Schurz says, vol. i, p. 212, "*Die Ernte dieser Reise war weder geistig noch leiblich gesegnet.*" It is not to be doubted that, physically speaking, the journey was very unfortunate. The hardships of an American winter seriously affected his constitution, undermined as it was by his illness from scurvy on board ship coming over and he never fully recovered from rheumatism contracted during his long winter rides on horse back.

But in spite of this, and in spite of his bitter disappointment, the fact remains that the impressions received at this time continue to exercise an influence upon his work for years after his return. Especially does this apply to the impressions received during the voyages, the ocean being, as he said, one of the things which had "formed" him. Further, Lenau's journey to America produced the effect that traveling in foreign lands always produces. It served to give him a clearer estimate of life.¹ It awoke him, to be sure rather violently, from his poet's dream and showed him that the imagination could never be the sole determinant for human affairs.

The extreme practical nature of American business life acted as a check upon Lenau's unbridled imagination. He saw in prosy America the greatest possible contrast to his own ideal,

¹ Cf. also letter of Lenau to Emilie Reinbeck. Schurz, p. 200. New Lisbon, March 15th.

"In dieser groszen langen Einsamkeit, ohne Freund, ohne Natur, ohne irgend eine Freude, war ich wohl darauf hingewiesen, stille Einkehr zu halten in mich selber, und manchen heilsamen Entschluss zu fassen für meine ferneren Tage."

and this did not fail to produce a salutary effect upon him in spite of his repugnance to the experience. As far as his expectation of increasing his income is concerned it is quite clear from what has been said that this was also a failure.

In summing up, therefore, the results of this journey, there is on one hand a considerable amount of poetic material which was gathered—impressions that remained during the rest of his life, also the benefits that come from contact with the world—more rational opinions of human nature; while on the other hand there are the effects of privation and exposure upon a rather sensitive constitution.¹ One is compelled, therefore, while granting the very serious results for his physique, to acknowledge the decidedly beneficial effects upon his mind.

It is very remarkable, in the few letters which Lenau wrote from America, how closely he observed the life in the United States and foresaw in some instances the dangers which were to beset the republic. References are made to the attempt of South Carolina to secede on account of the tariff; to the banking system; to the unnatural condition of trade and politics.² Lenau criticises, more than anything else, the lack of animation—of passion in America. He says,³ “Die Natur selbst ist kalt. . . . Alles ist gleichförmig und unphantastisch.” “Hier lebt der Mensch in einer sonderbaren kalten Heiterkeit, die ans Unheimliche streift,” . . . “rauhe Menschen. Ihre Rauheit ist aber nicht die Rauheit wilder, kräftiger Naturen, nein, es ist eine zahne, und darum doppelt widerlich.”⁴ . . . “Merkwürdig ist es wie die heftigsten Gefühle hier so schnell erkalten.” . . . “Diese ausgebrannten Menschen,”⁴ etc.

Everything in America he found “entsetzlich matt.” To his passionate nature this dreariness was terribly oppressive.

¹ Cf. also Schurz, vol. I, p. 214. “Er schien allen gealtert, sein Auge, zwar noch immer lieb und treu, hatte am Glanze verloren, sein Gesicht war mit tieferen Furchen umzogen, und nur sein Herz noch unverändert.”

² Cf. letter to Klemm. Schurz, I, p. 208. “Mit dem Ausdrucke Bodenlosigkeit glaub’ ich überhaupt den Charakter aller amerikanischen Institute bezeichnen zu können, auch der politischen.”

³ Letter to Klemm. Schurz, vol. I, p. 208.

⁴ Letter to Emilie Reinbeck. New Lisbon, March 5, 1833. Schurz, vol. I, p. 204.

The love of the Americans for money is also the occasion of much criticism, "Der Amerikaner kennt nichts, er sucht nichts, als Geld." . . . "Eine Niagara-stimme gehört dazu, um diesen Schuftten zu predigen, dasz es noch höhere Götter gebe, als die im Münzhause geschlagenen."¹ The Americans are "Himmelan stinkende Krämerseelen, todt für alles geistige Leben." In regard to education in America he says, "Die Bildung der Amerikaner ist bloß eine merkantile, eine technische. Hier entfaltet sich der praktische Mensch in seiner furchtbarsten Nüchternheit." The women he also found extremely uninteresting. "Ich war häufig in musikalischen Gesellschaften, wo junge Damen sich singend hören lieszen. Ihr Ton war . . . ein sonderbares Geschrille, das höchstens dem einer Möve ähnlich kommt. . . . Auch blicken diese Damen nicht, sie schauen nur; es klaffen nur zwei Kellerfenster . . . Ich kann das amerikanische schöne Geschlecht nur darum loben, dasz es meiner Ruhe niemals gefährlich werden könnte. . . . Auffallend ist übrigens die hohe Verehrung und die große Galanterie, mit welcher die hiesigen Ehemänner ihren Frauen begegnen. . . . Die meisten sind fast heilig gehalten." Reference is also made to the crudity of agriculture, to the lack of song birds, and the absence of wine.

His opinion, after having been here less than a half year, is that "Amerika ist das wahre Land des Unterganges, der Westen der Menschheit"² and further "Die schlimmste Frucht der üblen Verhältnisse in Deutschland ist die Auswanderung nach Amerika. . . . Ich weisz nicht warum ich immer eine Sehnsucht nach Amerika hatte. Doch ich weisz es. Johannes hat in der Wüste getauft. Mich zog es auch in die Wüste, und hier ist in meinem Inneren wirklich etwas wie Taufe vorgefallen."²

These extracts are sufficient to show the intense dissatisfaction and disappointment at nearly everything in America. In the early part of the chapter it was shown how Lenau's preparations for the voyage were viewed with alarm and at the same time

¹ Letter to Schurz. Schurz, vol. i, p. 198.

² Letter to Emilie Reinbeck, New Lisbon, March 5, 1833. Schurz, vol. i, p. 204.

with interest by his friends in Swabia and Vienna. During his absence he had won a much larger circle of admirers. His name had become much better known.¹ The long journey he had undertaken lent an air of romance to the young poet, whose praise was being sung in all parts of Germany, so that his return was looked for with interest by a large part of the German speaking race. And after his return from what he called the "Verschweinten Staaten" he became, one might almost say, an object of curiosity.² That his voyage excited great interest is shown by the popularity of Kürnberger's novel, "Der Amerikamüde," based upon the adventures of Lenau in America and to be treated in the next chapter.

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¹ On landing in Bremen, one of the first things he saw was a copy of Menzel's "*Literaturblatt*" with his name in a laurel wreath. Here he also saw for the first time, the edition of his poems, which had been published during his absence.

² Frankl, zur Biographie Lenau's p. 4 (Leipzig, 1855). "Erst das persönliche Erscheinen Lenau's in Wien weckte ein grösseres Interesse für ihn, wozu die Kunde, der Dichter habe, unzufrieden mit der alten Welt, jenseits des Atlantischen Oceans im Urwalde das Glück und das Leben—das scheue Wild—aufgesucht, nicht wenig beitrug. Damals hatten wenige Menschen in Oesterreich noch die Fahrt gewagt, die zu jener Zeit noch einen abenteuerlichen Schimmer um Atlantisfahrer verbreitete."

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FERDINAND KÜRNBERGER'S

"DER AMERIKMÜDE."

Before entering upon the discussion of *Der Amerikamüde* it will be necessary, in order to understand the point of view from which it was written, to give a short account of the life of its author, Kürnberger.

Ferdinand Kürnberger was born in Vienna on the third of July, 1823. His father, who is said to have been of noble birth, removed from the Breisgau to Austria because of financial difficulties. The early part of Ferdinand Kürnberger's life was spent in Vienna in the midst of the growing opposition to the political tyranny which culminated in the outbreak of 1848. It may be said that during his youth he imbibed the radical political doctrines which later affected his writings to a very great extent. His boyhood was passed in the midst of severe privations, but in spite of poverty he succeeded in obtaining a good education.

The bitterness and love of solitude which manifested themselves later in his life are largely the result of the misfortunes of his early years.

By giving private instruction he was enabled to pursue his studies at the University. These studies were for the most part philosophical. At the age of twenty he began to contribute to the Vienna papers, especially to Frankl's *Sonntags Blätter*. In the year 1848 nearly all the younger literary men of Vienna became involved in the political disturbances. Prominent among them was Kürnberger. As a result of his opposition he was compelled to flee and went directly to Dresden.

Here he again got into political difficulties and was arrested and imprisoned for eight months pending investigations. After

his liberation he went to Hamburg and there devoted himself to literary work. It was here that *Der Amerikamüde* was planned.

From Hamburg Kürnberger went to Frankfort, and it was not until 1857 that he was permitted to return to Vienna. After his return he again became restless, and in 1860 went to Munich. The years 1861 and 1862 were spent in Stuttgart and Koburg, and in 1864 he returned to Munich, where he spent much of his time with Wilhelm von Kaulbach. A year later he went to Graz, in Steiermark, and in 1866 returned to Vienna. While on a journey to Munich he became ill, and died on the 14th of October, 1879. His remains were taken to Mödling and there interred on the 19th of October.

During his lifetime Kürnberger had always been a recluse, so that his circle of friends was small. His chief literary associates were Auerbach, Leopold Kompert, Karl von Holtei, Hieronymus Lorm, Alfred Meiszner, Robert Byr and Emil Kuh.

Kürnberger's novelistic and political writings are scattered through a number of publications—principally in the *Sonntags Blätter*, Waldheim's *Müszestunden*, Westermann's *Monatshefte*, the *Illustrierte Frauenzeitung*, Blumenthal's *Monatshefte*, *Wiener Presse* and the *Neue Wiener Tageblatt*, with the editor of which, J. V. Schembera,¹ he was very intimate. Kürnberger also bore an important part in the foundation of the *Deutsche Zeitung*.

His first and most widely read book was *Der Amerikamüde*, *Amerikanisches Kulturbild*, 1855, volume eight of Meidlinger's *Deutsche Bibliothek*.

His second novel was written in 1876, and is called *Der Haustyrann*. The scene of this book is laid in the Tyrolean Alps. Five volumes of *Novellen* from his pen were also republished: *Ausgewählte Novellen* (1857) in the Reclam Series; *Novellen* (1861-62), Drei Bände; *Novellen* (1878). Included in these volumes of *Novellen* are several *Märchen* which attained great popularity. In 1857 *Das Goldmärchen* appeared.

The drama "Catilina" was written in 1855. A second drama

¹ Schembera edited the last edition of "*Der Amerikamüde*" published ten years after the author's death (1889) in the Reclam Series.

"Firdusi" was performed in Munich, in 1865, but, because of the great difficulty which the actors experienced in the performance, it was not kept in the repertory. Another drama by Kürnberger was written two years later. This was his "Quintin Messis."

Kürnberger's political writings are contained in the collection called "Siegelringe . . . Eine Ausgewählte Sammlung politischer und kirchlicher Feuilletons (1874)." *Literarische Herzessachen, Reflexionen und Kritiken* was published in 1877.

His poems include an "Aufruf für Schleswig-Holstein, Epistel an den Kaiser von Oesterreich" (1864) and a long elegy which was found among his papers after his death and was published, in 1879, in the *Neue Illustrirte Zeitung*.

Kürnberger's other writings consist of a number of short stories and sketches which were published in various magazines; a comedy written in 1850 "Fürst und Dame"; the text to a romantic opera—"Wineta"; and finally the plan of an extensive novel was found among his papers. This novel was called by him *Das Schloß des Verbrechens*.

Although rumors have been heard from time to time that a collection of Kürnberger's works would be published, no such edition has yet appeared. No complete life of this author has ever been written.¹ Although to-day the works of Kürnberger are read but little, during the fifties and sixties he was a very popular writer.

From the above sketch of his life it is apparent that he tried nearly all branches of literature. As a dramatist and as a poet he was entirely unsuccessful. His talent was descriptive and critical rather than dramatic. His greatest success was won on the field of the short story, and it is as the writer of *Novellen* and of *Der Amerikamüde* that he is best remembered.

It is noteworthy that in his short stories as well as in his novels he prefers foreign and exotic subjects to native German scenes. *Der Amerikamüde* and *Der Haustyrann* both have their scenes laid in foreign lands. In the same way the action

¹ A list of articles on Kürnberger's life and works will be found in the bibliography.

in his short stories almost always takes place in strange countries.¹ In the *Novellen* Kürnberger's intense bitterness and pessimism—the result of the long oppression of the censorship—does not show itself as much as elsewhere in his writings. *Der Amerikamüde* may be regarded as the expression of this bitterness towards America. The tone of the book is entirely unfriendly towards things American. The author was ever ready to oppose ideas that were popular. He therefore set himself to work to paint the dark side of American life. *Europamüde* had become a by-word at this time and Kürnberger hit upon *Amerikamüde* to express his antagonism.

Volumes had been written in praise of the United States. Emigrants were flocking thither in thousands. Letters poured in from America bringing messages to peasants in every part of Germany—telling of high wages, meat three times a day, and unlimited prospects of advancement. The result was that this country came to be regarded as a land of promise. It was therefore in a spirit of opposition to what was popular and what was believed to be true that Kürnberger began this novel. He may also have been encouraged in the position which he took by the occasional murmurs of disappointment from those who had not found America all that had been expected.

The fact also that the universal interest in America had already made Sealsfield and Gerstäcker popular may have induced him to select an American subject, feeling, at the same time, that no theme would probably be more attractive to general readers than a novel on American life.

The book gained an almost instant popularity. Sealsfield's works were read but little after the revolution of 1848. It seems, therefore, probable that the popularity of *Der Amerikamüde* may be partly accounted for from the fact that Sealsfield's works which had been extremely popular, were, so to speak, out of the market. The public also demanded something more in consonance with the spirit of the age. It was a revolutionary

¹ The scene of one of his short stories is also laid in America. "Gideon Wieser," pp. 181, ff. vol. III, of his "*Novellen*." München, 1862.

age and Kürnberger's was a revolutionary personality ; he therefore seemed to fall in with the demands of the times.

As has been stated above, the novel was finished in Hamburg in 1855. In spite of the fact that Kürnberger was never in America, the book shows a most astoundingly accurate and complete knowledge concerning the state of society and the manner of life in the United States. He went to work in a very serious manner to collect materials for his work. Lorm says,¹ "Nur nach erstaunlich gründlichen Studien über Amerika, die sich auf das Minutiöseste erstreckten und die er nicht früher abbrach als bis er sich in seinem Gegenstande so heimisch fühlte, dasz er ihn nicht für erlernt, sondern für erlebt erachten konnte, ging er an seine Arbeit."

What the sources of his information may have been it is impossible to say with absolute certainty. His information is so varied that it is evident he drew upon everything available—books of travel, histories of America, guide books, magazine articles both in English and German.² Duden, Chateaubriand

¹ Hieronymus Lorm. Westermann's Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte. January, 1880, pp. 506-512, "Ferdinand Kürnberger."

² Such was the interest in America at this time in Germany that almost every number of the weekly and monthly publications contained lengthy letters from America or articles on American subjects. The following topics are treated in a part of one volume of the "Gartenlaube" for 1855 :

On p. 79, there is a letter from America treating : New York, Seine Lage und Gestalt: Begrüßung bei der Ankunft durch Gauner.—Vergleichung mit London.—Die Geschäftsgegend.—Die Bedeutung New Yorks als Amerikanischer-Europäischer Haupt-Spediteur und Einwanderungshafen, für deutsche Einwanderer.—Ein Wink.—Herr Gerhard und sein Unternehmen für dieselben.—Die Auswücher an der Freiheit Nord-Amerikas aus Europa.—Physiognomie New Yorks.—Broadway.—Der Kleiderhandlungs Marmor-Palast, p. 342.—Der Verfall des Republikanismus in Amerika und dessen Neigung zum Absolutismus.—Der Wahlcensus für die Aristokratie des Gesindes.—Die Rowdies, Runners, Suckers and Strikers—Bestrafte Verbrecher als Beamte.—Die Praxis bei den Wahlen.—Das Municipal-Reform-Comitee in New York.—Das Verbrecher und Regierungsverviertel.—"Five Points."—Wie die ankommenden Einwanderer empfangen, beraubt und geschunden werden.—Aussichten, etc.

This clearly shows the extent of the information concerning America, which was obtainable in Germany without coming to America.

and Cooper¹ are all referred to, but it is not likely that Kürnberger borrowed anything directly from them. He probably got inspiration from each, but for material it is necessary to look elsewhere.

Hamburg was at this time the chief port for the American trade, and as the novel was written during Kürnberger's residence there, he undoubtedly was able to obtain information directly from those who were returning from the New World by way of Hamburg.

Besides, as has been before mentioned, many of his political associates and friends had been compelled to flee to America. With these men Kürnberger kept up a correspondence, and through them was able to get many facts concerning life in the United States.²

Der Amerikamüde possesses more than the ordinary short-lived interest of a novel written to suit the tastes of the day. In the first place the hero Moorfeld is modeled consciously upon Nicolaus Lenau, especially his experience in America; secondly, *Der Amerikamüde* is the expression of the attitude of the members of the school of "Young Germany" towards America. That America played an important part in the "Young German" movement will be shown in the following chapter, but nowhere is the importance of America in this connection more fully illustrated than in *Der Amerikamüde*.

¹ Cooper was already one of the most admired foreign writers in Germany. The position which he occupied in the eyes of the German critics is shown by the following passage taken from Theodor Mundt's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart*. Berlin, 1842.

He is comparing Scott and Cooper: "An innerer Poesie stehen beide Autoren vielleicht auf derselben Stufe, das heisst, sie haben beide gleich wenig davon, und die handfeste, praktische Bemeisterung der Wirklichkeit ist ihre hauptsächlichste Stärke. Doch geht Cooper in der Regel weniger umständlich und ermüdend mit den Einzelheiten zu Werke und bringt durch eine raschere Verschlingung des Fadens mehr Harmonie und Abrundung hervor."

² Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographic*, vol. xvii, p. 412. Article by Anton Schlossar on Kürnberger: "Viele seiner Gefährten, verfolgt und geächtet, waren zu jener Zeit über Hamburg ausgewandert und hierdurch mag er wohl auch die erste Anregung zu seinem Romane erhalten haben, er selbst hat die Neue Welt niemals betreten."

Why should Kürnberger model the doings of his hero in America upon Lenau's American journey? The first chapter has shown that the voyage of Lenau to America at a time when emigration had just commenced, and when the journey was beset with many dangers and difficulties, excited very general interest. Upon his return Lenau was looked upon as a man who had done something very extraordinary. This journey made him known apart from his writings. It was, therefore, not unnatural that when Kürnberger, in beginning a novel which was to show the dark side of American life, should be attracted by the experiences of Lenau, who had been singularly unfortunate in his American journey.

It is not to be supposed that there was any personal friendship between the two authors, nor is there any political connection. The reason, then, why Kürnberger selected Lenau as his model must be sought elsewhere. Anton Schlossar,¹ one of Kürnberger's friends, has written the following on this point: "Es wird allgemein angenommen dasz Kürnberger in seinem Helden, Nicolaus Lenau zeichnen wollte, dies ist nur bedingungsweise richtig; während der Abfassung des Werkes dachte der Verfasser, wie er sich selbst äuszerte, nicht an den oesterreichischen Dichter, dessen trauriges Geschick gerade zu jener Zeit besonders Aufsehen in Deutschland machte. Kürnberger wurde nur vom Verleger des Buches ersucht, demselben noch jene Züge einzuweben, die an Lenau erinnern und diesen als Helden des Romans errathen lassen, was um so zutreffender ist, als Lenau ja bekanntlich auch von Europa für kurze Zeit nach Amerika gezogen war."

According to this it would seem, then, that when Kürnberger began to write the book he did not intend to portray Lenau. This plan was not adopted until later, and then at the suggestion of the publisher.

There is no reason why this statement should not be accepted as true. Schlossar, in compiling the sketch of Kürnberger, was assisted by those who had been most intimately associated with

¹ Allgemeine Deutsche Biographic, vol. XVII, p. 412.

our author. He was, therefore, in a position to speak more authoritatively on this point than any one else.

This statement that the introduction of Lenau into the book was an after-thought, is, however, also made elsewhere, so that it is safe to assume that this represents the true state of the case.

It is easy to understand why Kürnberger should at once comply with the request of his publisher. It would have been difficult to find a subject likely to attract greater attention at this time. The tragic features of Lenau's insanity had contributed greatly to the knowledge which the general public had in regard to him. Reports were circulated from time to time that he was on the point of recovery. These reports were frequently exaggerated, but still they were widely read. The natural outcome of this was that Lenau became one of the most talked-about men in Germany. Many people who did not know him, through his poetry, now read about him daily. This public interest was kept up for some time after he was confined in the asylum; nor did it stop until his death in 1850. A short time after this Kürnberger began his work.

It is hardly necessary to state that the parallelism between Lenau and Moorfeld was recognized everywhere by the readers of *Der Amerikamüde*.

It is known that Berthold Auerbach also at one time intended to write a novel on the basis of Lenau's experiences in America.¹ Freiligrath's fragment, *Der Ausgewanderte Dichter*, suggests also Lenau. Whether Anastasius Grün (Graf Auersperg) was

¹ Cf. "Nicolaus Lenau, Erinnerung und Betrachtung," von Berthold Auerbach, Wien 1876, p. 16: "Ich trug mich damals mit einem Plane zu einem Romane, *Die Auswanderer*. Lenau nahm innigen Antheil an meinen Darlegungen und versprach mir ausführliche Schilderung seiner Fahrten und Abenteuer, wogegen ich ihm versprach ihn selber zu einer Figur des Romans zu machen, wie er den Bauern auf dem Schiffe Geige spielt und zur Mythe in den neuen Ansiedlungen in den Urwäldern wird. Es war lustig, wie er sich in dieser Rolle gefiel und sich als Mythos ausmalte, wobei er seine Gestalt und seine Mienen seltsam ausstaffirte. Empfindlich betroffen war er aber, als ich ihm vorhielt, er sollte statt schon bereitete Stoffe wie Faust und Don Juan aufnehmen—die im Producierenden wie in Aufnehmenden immer gegen Reminiscenzen zu kämpfen haben—seine Amerikafahrt dichterisch ausgestalten."

indebted to Lenau for any of the material which he used in the American part of his poem, "Schutt," it is impossible to say, but it seems probable in view of his close relations with Lenau.¹

The question that now suggests itself is, where did Kürnberger get his information concerning Lenau? Because it was generally known that there existed in *Der Amerikamüde* a parallelism between Moorfeld and Lenau, it has frequently been supposed that Moorfeld's adventures in America were the same as those of Lenau. In other words, that *Der Amerikamüde* was *Dichtung und Wahrheit* from Lenau's American journey.²

Indeed, there is a series of articles in the *Deutscher Pionier* entitled, "Irrfahrten zweier deutschen Dichterfürsten nach Amerika. Nicolaus Lenau als Pionier Ohios" by Emil Klauprecht, in which *Der Amerikamüde* is treated literally as Lenau's autobiography. In describing Lenau's journey the author, Klauprecht, has taken page after page from *Der Amerikamüde* and published them as extracts from Lenau's own *Tagebuch*.

An imperfect knowledge of the circumstances connected with Lenau's stay in America has made it possible that such mistakes as these should pass unnoticed. It is now possible to decide how far Kürnberger has drawn upon events in Lenau's life and what part of the work is pure fiction.

As has been stated above there was no personal relationship between Lenau and Kürnberger, and there is no reason to believe that Kürnberger had any information not contained in what had already been published. The best and only complete life of Lenau, namely Schurz's *Lenaus Leben*, was not published until 1855, the same year in which *Der Amerikamüde* made its

¹ Cf. also Adolph Pichler, *Deutsche Auswanderer*, Fragmente aus einer größeren Dichtung. Lenau, pp. 39-44.

² Even so reliable an editor as Max Koch says, on page 24 of the introduction to Lenau's Werke in the Deutsche National-Litteratur Edition: "Ferdinand Kürnberger's lebensvoller Roman 'Der Amerikamüde-Amerikanisches Kulturbild, Frankfurt, 1855,' schildert in dem Haupthelden Doctor Moorfeld, Lenaus Empfindungen ziemlich genau auf Grund frei erfundenen Erlebnisse. Obwohl die Beziehungen auf Lenau erst später in den Roman eingefügt worden sein sollen, kann man Kürnbergers gehaltvolle Dichtung doch fast als Dichtung und Wahrheit aus Lenaus Amerikareise bezeichnen."

appearance, and, as Kürnberger's studies for his American novel had been going on for several years before he began to write, it is not likely that he had access to this work. This view is further strengthened when the novel is compared with the real state of things in Schurz's book. The discrepancies and contradictions in Kürnberger's statements make it almost impossible that he could have borrowed from this work. The books which were published before 1855, containing biographical material, are Frankl's *Zur Biographie Nikolaus Lenaus*, Wien, 1854, and Karl Mayer's *Nicolaus Lenaus Briefe an einen Freund*, Stuttgart, 1853. The first of these books contains nothing, whatever, that bears specifically upon Lenau's American journey, and in Mayer's collection of letters, although there is much information concerning his preparations for the voyage, there are but a few very brief extracts from two letters written by Lenau in America. It is, therefore, apparent that Kürnberger could have drawn but little from these sources. One is, therefore, forced to conclude that whatever information he may have had concerning Lenau, must have been common property. Kürnberger could not have expected that his book should give a complete and accurate account of Lenau in America—the readers of this novel have seen more of the poet in it than the author ever intended.

The chief parallelism between Doctor Moorfeld and Lenau consists in the fact that they are both poets who came to America in search of inspiration and subjects for literary work.

Lenau had studied medicine. Moorfeld was a physician. They both buy farms in America, but here the comparison fails. In the first place Moorfeld's attitude towards America is that of the most radical of the Young German writers. His political interest in America—his interest in America as the home of a new German civilization far outweighed the poetic interest he felt. Lenau, on the contrary, came here for artistic development. Politics was in no way a determining factor.¹

Furthermore, Moorfeld lands in New York and remains in

¹ Max Koch says, p. 46 of the Introduction to Lenau's Werke: "Entschieden feindlich war er (Lenau) dem jungen Deutschland gesinnt."

that city for some time. From New York he proceeds to Ohio, passing through Philadelphia, Harrisburg and Pittsburg. From Pittsburg he goes on toward Ohio, and finally purchases, under rather peculiar circumstances, a farm near New Lisbon, Ohio.

Lenau landed in Baltimore, and after a short stay in that city proceeded to Pittsburg, stopping at Economy and Bedford, and finally bought a farm in the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He visited New Lisbon, Ohio, but did not purchase any land there.¹ Moorfeld also takes possession of his farm. Lenau, on the other hand, never spent any time on the land which he purchased.

From these great discrepancies it is evident that Kürnberger was either ignorant of the real circumstances of Lenau's journey or purposely deviated from the true state of the case. The former of these views is much the more probable.

The second reason why *Der Amerikamüde* possesses more than a transient interest is the "Doctrinaire" spirit in which it was written. At this time the novel and the short story² were being developed and extensively employed in Germany, because it was possible to introduce insidiously into these forms of literature considerable doses of radicalism. *Der Amerikamüde*

¹ Kürnberger is by no means the only one who believed that Lenau bought a farm near New Lisbon, Ohio. Nearly all writers on Lenau have fallen into this error.

² Proelsz (Das junge Deutschland, Stuttgart, 1892, p. 6), rebels against the way in which novels and other lighter forms of literature are treated by literary historians. "Diese Aufsätze, Reisebilder, Novellen, Romane, was haben sie für einen ästhetischen Werth, sagte bisher der Literarhistoriker, der unter 'Literatur' nur Werke der poetischen Kunst versteht. In politischer Beziehung, meinetwegen, da mögen sie wichtig sein. Für mein Fach aber—nicht der Rede werth! Und auf der andern Seite der gelehrte Staatshistoriker: Vom literarischen Werthe dieser Schriften will ich nicht reden, das ist nicht meines Faches; in politischer Beziehung aber—blinder Lärm,—diese Schriftsteller hatten keinen nachweisbaren Einfluss auf die Geschichte. Und doch gehören diese halbverschollenen Werke zu den wichtigsten literarischen Denkmälern der gährenden Frühzeit unserer politischen Reife zum Reich, einer Frühzeit, in der auch auf dem Gebiete des sozialen Lebens, der Kunst, der Wissenschaft und des Verkehrswesens der brausende Keimwind einer neuen Zeit für Deutschland diejenigen Ideen zu knospender Entfaltung brachte, deren Blüten und Früchte dem nun zur Rüste sich neigenden Jahrhundert seinen Charakter verliehen."

belongs to this class of writings. The chief doctrine of the book is that the United States must sooner or later succumb to the superior culture of Germany, in other words be eventually germanized. In this opinion Kürnberger was by no means alone. The whole school of Young Germany considered America the place for attempting all sorts of political extravagances. Kürnberger therefore in writing this book merely gave expression in a popular form to a wide-spread feeling. It is only necessary to cite two passages to show the radical nature of Kürnberger's views. The first of these is put into the mouth of Moorfeld, page 465 (Reclam Edition).

"Die Sieger von Teutoburg, die zweimal Rom überwunden, sollen deutsches Geisterbanner auf Washingtons Kapital pflanzen.

Die neue Welt ist ihnen gegeben, wie die alte. Voran, deutsche Jungfrau, heilige, weihe! Du leidest für dein Volk; du bist Deutschland! armes, frommes, miszhandeltes Kind," etc.

And again, page 553, this is spoken by Benthäl:

"Von der Idee sind wir wohl beide zurückgekommen, das Deutschthum auf den Pflug zu gründen. Sie sehen, wie's geht damit. Tausende von Bauern, Tausende von Handwerkern können wir ins Land werfen, und sie werden immer eine Seitenstellung einnehmen. Ein einziger Bankdirector, ein einziger Großhandlungschef aus unserem Volke ist ein stärkerer Keil unserer Macht als Massen von nützlichen, aber verachteten Zeloten O diese Yankees! Wir müssen sie in ihrer höchsten, heiligsten Citadelle beschleichen, in ihrer Börse. . . . Ein Quadratfusz an diesem Herde ist mehr werth als eine halbe Million acres in Missouri."

These passages might be multiplied indefinitely but it is quite unnecessary, since the whole book is written in this vein. These are merely rather highly colored statements of theories which find utterance in every part of the book in a less violent manner.

Der Amerikamüde is called by the author an *Amerikanisches Kulturbild*. It might more properly be called, perhaps, a series of *Kulturbilder*, for the plot of the book is slight and only serves

as the thread upon which are strung a miscellaneous collection of stories, told usually to illustrate some political or literary theory of the author. Kürnberger never hesitates to break the thread of the story to philosophize upon quite irrelevant subjects. The form of the novel lent itself more easily to what Kürnberger had in mind, than a book of travels or a series of essays upon the different phases of American life. In some cases even characters are introduced to illustrate some principle or to combat one.

The book as a literary production is not a great one. Lorn thinks it Kürnberger's weakest production. There is no similarity, whatever, between this novel and the stories of Sealsfield and Gerstäcker. An interesting comparison could be made between *Der Amerikamüde* and Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit* and his *American Notes*.

Although the knowledge shown by Kürnberger is quite wonderful, nearly everything in the book is colored by his own peculiar "Young German" theories. Various phases of American life are dwelt upon at great length. For example, the subject of camp meetings is the occasion of much comment. The severe criticism of this peculiar American institution is explained in part by the opposition of the German immigrants to what they called "Puritanismus."¹

One of the most noteworthy principles of "Young Germany"

¹ At a meeting of the German Social Democratic Association, of Richmond, Virginia, in Richmond, in 1852, the following resolutions were passed:

"Reform in the laws of the General Government, as well as in those of the States, demand: (1) Universal suffrage; (2) The election of all officers by the people; (3) The abolition of the Presidency, etc."

"Reform in the foreign relations of the Government: (1) Abolition of all Neutrality; (2) Intervention in favor of every people struggling for liberty."

What is most interesting in this connection—"Reform in what relates to religions: (1) A more perfect development of the principle of personal freedom and liberty of conscience; consequently,—(a) Abolition of laws for the observance of the Sabbath; (b) Abolition of prayer in Congress; (c) Repeal of all laws enacting a religious test before taking an office; Taxation of all church property; A prohibition of incorporations of all church property—in the name of ecclesiastics; Reform in the social condition," etc.

was opposition to Christianity. This showed itself in America in various forms. Attempts were made to found a party which should have for its object the abolition of "Puritanismus" and slavery.

The camp-meetings came to be considered one of the most violent and ungentle forms of puritanical Christianity. Besides the fact that they were so novel to the Germans caused them to assume a position in the eyes of the foreigners that their importance and comparative infrequency did not warrant. Nearly all books of travel written by Germans on America contain lengthy descriptions of these camp-meetings. Even the letters written to the weekly and monthly papers in Germany were not complete unless these American woods-meetings were referred to. Kürnberger, therefore, was not at a loss for material in treating them in his novel. He recognized also that they offered excellent opportunities for scoffing at Christianity in general, and more specifically at the insincerity of American Christianity. Accordingly, one of these meetings is made the scene of one of the most tragic crises in the novel.

Other phases of American life are treated at length—seldom, however, without some reason, other than the mere desire to promote the dramatic interest of the novel. The volunteer fire-department affords him a chance to show his most sincere contempt for American life. In the forties and fifties and even much later fires were almost always the occasions for street fights, and in the excitement which followed the hatred towards the foreigners generally showed itself. Frequently the houses of the Germans were stormed, the inhabitants pelted and driven out, so that fires became very serious events to the unoffending foreigner. This condition of affairs is taken up by Kürnberger and severely satirized.

Other topics, which are treated at length, might be mentioned in this connection, but sufficient has been said to show that there is always some occasion for Kürnberger's satire.

This chapter then forms, in a certain way, the point of departure for the study of the whole work. Chapter one supplies the

information that is necessary to understand Kürnberger's relation to Lenau, while Chapter three shows the far reaching consequences of the theories put forth in "*Der Amerikanüde*."

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AMERICA AS THE POLITICAL UTOPIA OF YOUNG GERMANY.¹

AMERICA from the time of its discovery has stood for personal liberty. Whenever intolerance in the Old World became insufferable, it appeared as a land where oppression was impossible.

The use of the word *europamüde* in the thirties and forties at once implies the existence of a country where the weary European might rest from the difficulties which beset him at home. No extended discussion is therefore necessary to show that the United States was the land of promise to the overburdened European.

At this time politics was the theme which occupied the minds of the thinking public in Europe. Literature had become the handmaid of political propagandism.² In Germany the school of "Das junge Deutschland" had full sway, and as this school had for its prime object the spreading of political theories, it is impossible to study this period without treating historical questions as well as purely literary problems. The interest which the "Young Germans" felt in the cause of freedom was to a great extent romantic.³ They were interested in an abstract

¹ Reprint, No. 7, from *Americana Germanica* (Vol. I, No. 2).

² "Sonnetchen an Amanda
So leiern wir nicht mehr,
Es ward zur Propaganda
Das deutsche Dichterheer."

Sallets *Gesammelte Gedichte*; Königsberg 1843, p. 309.

³ Cf. Proelsz, *Das junge Deutschland*, Stuttgart 1892, p. 45. "Dasz die Auffassung der Griechen und Polen sowie der Tiroler unter Hofer als Freiheitskämpfer zumeist eine romantische war, entsprach ebenso der Bildung der Zeit, wie das romantische Hinauspilgern deutscher Freiheitschwärmer zur Theilnahme an den Kämpfen fremder Nationen, für deren politische Freiheit, zu welchem Byron ein so glänzendes Beispiel gegeben, nachdem schon 1772 Lafayette und Kosciuszko ähnliches gethan, als die Wirkung der Unabhängigkeitserklärung von Amerika die Welt erfüllte, u. s. w."

Wilhelm Müller's *Griechenlieder* and Platen's *Polenlieder* are also interesting in this connection.

ideal of liberty, which appealed to their imaginations and not altogether to their ideas of personal safety and freedom. This was a period of political unrest. Revolutions were taking place in Greece, Poland, the Tyrol, France and Germany. There was an almost universal opposition to the established forms of government. (What the effect of the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution had been upon European politics, this is not the place to inquire, but it is not to be questioned that these events directed universal attention to America as the seat of political freedom.¹ From this time on the United States stood for the highest condition of personal liberty,² and that the ideals of "Young Germany" were influenced by the fact that in America the individual was supposed to be absolutely untrammelled seems probable. Wienbarg, who gave the name to this new school lived in Altona near Hamburg,³ the most important port in Germany for the American trade.)

Besides this general influence of American politics and life upon the European ideals of liberty, America seemed to be also

¹ It is a well-known fact that during the war of the American Revolution Klinger meditated coming to America. Cf. *Klinger in der Sturm- und Drangperiode* von Max Rieger. Darmstadt, 1880, p. 398 ff. It is also noteworthy that the scene of Klinger's drama "Sturm und Drang" is laid in America. Note also the plan of Wagner and Heinse to emigrate at this time.

² America as the seat of real freedom is treated poetically in Anastasius Grün's (Graf Auersperg) *Schutt*, which is characterized as follows by R. Gottschall, *Die Deutsche Nat. lit. des 19ten Jahrhunderts*, vol. III, p. 97:

"Die dritte Abtheilung des *Schutt*: 'Cincinnatus' eröffnet uns transatlantische Perspektiven, von den Trümmern Pompeiis, von der verschütteten und ausgegrabenen Vergangenheit hinaus in die Urwälder des fernen Amerikas in das Asyl jugendlicher Freiheit, in welches alle flüchten sollen, denen die heimatliche Erde vergällt ist. Dort ist die schöpferische Kraft der Arbeit, die eine neue Zukunft gründet, während in Italiens Ruinen nur der Müsziggang und die Genussucht haust."

³ It is also to be noted that in certain respects Hamburg was the chief city for the "Young German" agitation. The firm of Hoffman & Campe which published most of the writings of the members of this school was located in Hamburg.

The parents of Ludolph Wienbarg expected to send their son to America, and his education was conducted with a view to his being adopted by a rich uncle in Baltimore.

a place where it was possible to put into execution plans and theories which were impossible in Europe on account of the interference of the governments.

Owing to the great extent of territory included in the United States and because it was supposed in Europe that the American governments offered no opposition to the most radical schemes, this country was looked upon as a land where anything that was opposed officially in Europe would be permitted. Already in the eighteenth century the attempt of Coleridge and Southey¹ to found a "pantisocracy" on the banks of the Susquehanna was an illustration of this tendency to regard America as the land where all utopian schemes were in order. The colonies of Owen and Rapp are also cases in point. Later the plan of Cabet² to found a Utopia in Illinois attracted great attention, especially among the working men of Paris.

(The contrast, noticeable in the differences existing between the characters of the Europeans, and especially of the Germans and Americans, is shown also in the fact that nearly all the schemes which had for their object the improvement of mankind and the promotion of happiness, came from Europe. Though America was the land selected for the realization of these dreams, Americans as a rule took but little interest in all these undertakings. In studying, therefore, the history of the relations of the German immigrants and the native Americans, it is important to keep in mind these two fundamental differences in the characters of the two nationalities, which were here again brought face to face after a separation of 1500 years.³

¹ Cf. Joseph Cottle's *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey*. New York, 1847, p. 16 ff.

² Cabet's plan was in accordance with the teachings of Fourier. In 1842 he published his work *Voyage en Icarie* which immediately attracted widespread attention. For reviews of this book, see *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxiii, 1848, p. 165 ff. M. J. A. Bradford, *Christian Examiner*, vol. liii, 1852, p. 372 ff. Note also Etienne Cabet, *Colonie oder Republik Icarien*, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1853; Etienne Cabet, *Fortschritt der Colonie Icarien*, Nauvoo, Illinois, 1854.

³ Cf. Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element in Amerika*: "Die beiden verwandten germanischen Stämme, der Angelsächsische und der Deutsche, treffen sich nach

The American was above all things practical and realistic, while the German was the dreamer, the idealist.¹ This contrast will explain many of the failures with which the plans of Germans met and also in part the opposition to the immigrants, which soon after began to develop.

The beginning of the immigration to America on a large scale, that is about the year 1831, is to be attributed to two causes. The first of these was, of course, the political disturbances. The second was the publication of Gottfried Duden's *Bericht von einer Reise nach den westlichen Staaten*.²

As a result of the July Revolution in France, there arose in Germany a demand for greater privileges, which showed itself in the uprisings in the Rhenish Palatinate in May, 1832, and in Frankfurt and Oberhessen in 1833. The immediate cause of these difficulties was the so-called "Bundestags Ordonnanzen" of the year 1831. The disorders were soon suppressed, but the bitterness felt at the abolition of the old inherited rights was so great, that only a slight impetus was necessary to produce the great tidal wave of emigration which followed.³ This impulse

fünfzehnhundertjähriger Trennung wieder auf dem amerikanischen Kontinent, zur gemeinsamen Arbeit, zur Erweiterung des Reiches der Freiheit. Der Deutsche giebt sein reiches Geistes- und Gemüthsleben zu den Kulturelementen, welche sich auf dem Boden der neuen Welt frei vermählen und stets höhere Bildung erzeugen.

¹ Cf. Julius Fröbel, *Die Deutsche Auswanderung und ihre Culturhistorische Bedeutung: Fünfzehn Briefe an den Herausgeber der Allgemeine Auswanderungs Zeitung*. Leipzig, 1858, p. 34. "Der anglo-amerikanische Realismus und der deutsche Idealismus sind die zwei culturhistorischen Gegensätze, in der sich das historische Bewusstsein unserer Zeit ausgespitzt hat."

² The full title of the book is, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri in den Jahren 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827 in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung; oder, Das Leben im Innern der Vereinigten Staaten und dessen Bedeutung für die häusliche und politische Lage der Europäer, dargestellt; a, in einer Sammlung von Briefen; b, in einer Abhandlung über den politischen Zustand der Nord Amerikaner; c, in einem Nachtrage für auswandernde deutsche Ackerwirthe und Diejenigen welche auf Handelsunternehmungen denken von G. D., 2te Ausgabe. Bonn, 1834.*

³ *Nile's Register*, Dec. 1, 1832, p. 216. "In the *Cassel Advertiser* of October 6, there are many announcements of the sale of mills, lands, etc., belonging to persons who intend to emigrate in the Spring to North America."

was supplied by Duden's book which appeared first in 1829. It went through three editions: 1829, 1834 and 1853, respectively.

In the year 1824 Duden had left his home in Bonn accompanied by a young student, Louis Eversmann by name, to take up his abode on the banks of the Missouri. At this time few persons in Europe had ever heard of this river, so that the undertaking was one of considerable magnitude. He landed in Baltimore and continued his journey to the West along the famous National Road, which extended as far as Wheeling. From here the journey was made down the Ohio River to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi to the Missouri. After a stay of three years in America he returned to his old home, where the book was published, which may be regarded as having caused the beginning of the enormous latter-day German emigration to America. The work, in the form of letters, was written in a somewhat "doctrinaire" vein.

It was Duden who, in a time of universal discontent and uncertainty, directed the attention of the German masses to the western parts¹ of the American Union, which were being settled just at that time. His presentation was glowing in the extreme. In fact, his book must have been largely the product of his own imagination rather than the calm statement of actual conditions. In Missouri it was possible, according to him, to live with very little exertion. There are wonderful descriptions of the fertility of the soil, of the abundance of game, and then the idea of personal independence was emphasized very strongly in his work.

This romantic and poetic side of the book made it all the more attractive to the minds of the readers, and when it is remembered that Duden was supposed to be a thoroughly trustworthy man—a man who had enjoyed a university education,

¹ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. I, p. 244. "Und (Duden's) Einflüsse hauptsächlich ist es zuzuschreiben dasz nach 1830 tausende unserer Landleute in Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, etc., sich niederlieszen und daselbst die Gründer des seitdem so mächtig und einflussreich gewordenen Deutschthums wurden." Cf. also articles in vol. vi and vii of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, on *Zwei Agitatoren der Auswanderung*; Gottfried Duden und Franz Joseph Stallo.

had served creditably in the army, and had occupied important positions in the Prussian civil service, the attention which his utterances attracted does not seem strange.

The radical tendencies of the book were also quite in consonance with the spirit of the age, so that, besides being important for the study of the history of the early German emigration to America, here are to be found many of the germs of the curious doctrines held by most of the immigrants regarding the future of the German race in America.

The current of immigration thus begun continued with such force, and at the same time, with such uniformity, that soon, to the German idealist, it seemed as though his race had a political mission here in the New World to perform. Visions of a new fatherland, without the oppression and misery of the Old World, rose before his eyes. How could the crude Americans hope to cope with the civilization and culture of one of the foremost nations of Europe? Such questions as these the enthusiastic immigrant asked himself and his imagination did the rest. The whole New World seemed to be at his feet only awaiting the arrival of a race whose education and intelligence would make it the worthy possessor of this land of promise.

The great body of immigrants consisted, to be sure, of peasants and members of the middle classes, but along with these was a large proportion of men of intelligence—university men, who, because of some political offence, had been compelled to flee the country, and who, in fleeing, naturally thought of the United States as a safe place of refuge. These political refugees were the leaders of thought, the men who controlled and directed the unthinking peasants. They are the ones who are responsible for the various “doctrinaire” schemes which already in the thirties begin to show themselves in different parts of the United States. The leaders seem to have been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of opposition to all forms of established government. This state of mind had been produced by their long-continued animosity towards the existing condition of affairs in Germany. They were above all things intriguers. It seemed impossible

for them to keep quiet in a political sense. One would have supposed that when they came to America, where there was no oppression to fight against, their opposition would have been disarmed, and, to be sure, in the end this is what really did occur, not, however, until they had worn themselves out in planning tremendous political undertakings which aroused little interest, except among their own numbers. The nature of these plans will be discussed later on, but for the present it is sufficient to note that America was at this time the place where all enterprises, which were impossible in Europe, were attempted.

It is further necessary to emphasize the difference which exists between the immigrants of that period and those of to-day. Political disturbances had caused a stream of emigrants to come to America, who were to a large extent political agitators. In leaving home they merely changed the base of their operations. The agitation and opposition continued in America as it had existed in Germany. To-day the emigrant has not the same stock of political opinions concerning America which his father held fifty or sixty years ago. Whatever may be his state of mind regarding the mission of the Germans in the United States, his statements are not so confident, nor are they so numerous, as was the case from 1830 to 1850. The immigrants also found much encouragement in the fact that in the past German attempts at colonization had been extremely successful, and, indeed, in the face of much more formidable opposition than was offered them in this country.¹ The attitude of the inhabitants of the United States towards the immigrants was at first extremely friendly.²

¹ *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii, p. 51: "Das Deutschthum hat überall in der Fremde ein zähes Leben geoffenbart, Frankreich hat es in Hunderten von Jahren nicht in Lothringen und im Elsass unterdrücken können, die Magyaren, die selbstsüchtigste Nation von der Welt, haben es in Siebenbürgen nicht bemeistern können, die Slaven östlich von der Elbe haben seinem Andrängen nicht zu widerstehen vermocht. Im heutigen Schlesien, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg und Preussen leben Millionen Deutsche von undeutscher Abstammung. Warum sollte das Deutsche Element hier in Amerika, wo es sich nunmehr ungehindert entwickeln kann, untergehen?"

² *Niles' Register*, Sept., 1832, Feb., 1833, vol. vii, Fourth Series, page 40.—
 "The Emigration from Europe in the present season appears much greater

They, however, occasionally interposed a warning objection when the talk of new-comers became too violent or too patronising. Not, however, until the rise of know-nothingism, which, to be sure, was in part the result of the violent talk of the foreigners, did the Americans show any real opposition to the coming of the Europeans.

It is now necessary to discuss the two great currents of immigration which are important for this study—important chiefly from the fact that the impetus of both of them is to be found in political conditions. They are the migrations¹ of 1832 and those of 1848. The immigrants of these two different periods present certain contrasts, but they are for the most part governed by the same general conditions. In the case of the “Achtund-

than ever it was before. It already much exceeds 100,000 persons, say 50,000 or more via Quebec and the remainder by the way of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc. At the two last named places, and especially Baltimore very many Germans have arrived—hardy, healthy and evidently industrious, the most of whom seem to possess means of conveying themselves into the interior, where they will soon be among the most valuable of our citizens. They have lots of hearty children, and it is very interesting to contemplate a family group of these strangers preparing for a start westward. Some brought their own wagons and harness with them. They are all plainly clad in the costumes of their country, but their clothes are good and strong without rents and well taken care of. They differ as much from the loads of English paupers, which are sometimes shovelled upon us, as—we want a comparison—as the luscious peach differs from the bitter Indian turnip. And besides these Germans will work and support themselves, not fill up our poor houses.” And again p. 68. “*The York (Pa.) Republican* speaking of the large number of Germans who have lately passed through that borough on their way to the immeasurable West says: “We learn that the increasing prospect of internal commotion in the German Empire is the main cause of this emigration. The farmers say that all they raised would not pay the impost levied upon them. We are further informed by some of the most intelligent that it is calculated not less than 80,000 are now moving and preparing to depart for this country. Let them come—they are an industrious and moral race, and will do well here. We rejoice that our country presents a haven where the weary and oppressed even in this world may have a rest.”

¹ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. vi, p. 17. Articles entitled: “Völkerwanderung und Auswanderung. Kulturhistorische Parallelen über die Frage: Sind Wanderungen nach Amerika und Australien eine Völkerwanderung oder nicht?” In these articles the emigration to America is compared with the “Völkerwanderungen” of the Celts, Huns, Goths, Vandals and Franks.

vierziger," however, the same theories were carried to greater excesses than with those who had come earlier. Both at first regarded their stay in America as temporary. They wished to gain a basis of operations from which they could work upon Germany. With this in mind the earlier immigrants founded the society *Germania*⁴ in New York, the object of which was to furnish the exiles an opportunity for keeping together, so that as soon as the troubles in Germany should again commence they might hasten back home and begin again the fight against the governments.

As in the East, so in the West, especially in Indiana and Ohio, the necessity for organization was felt among the Germans, and as a result of this feeling the "*Deutsche Gesellschaft*" was founded in Cincinnati in July, 1834. Its declared object was as follows: "*Damit wir als Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten denjenigen Antheil an der Volksherrschaft nehmen können, den uns Pflicht und Recht gebieten.*" In 1836, in Philadelphia, another society was formed: "*Zur Unterstützung politischer Flüchtlinge, welche aus der Schweiz vertrieben, in London zum Theil in bitterster Armuth lebten und Mittel suchten für ihre Ueberfahrt nach Amerika.*"⁵ The Gutenbergfest, June, 1840, also afforded an opportunity to the Germans in America to show that there still existed a feeling for the Fatherland in their new homes. This day was celebrated in Philadelphia, Richmond,

³ Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 108. The object of the Society "*Germania*" founded on the 24th of January, 1835, as contained in its constitution was as follows:

"Die in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika wohnenden Deutschen enger zu vereinigen, um einen kräftigen deutschen Character, gute deutsche Sitten und deutsche Bildung zu erhalten und zu befördern, die Prinzipien einer reinen Demokratie im neuen Vaterland zu unterstützen, die Liebe und Anhänglichkeit zum alten Vaterland zu nähren, und mit dahin zu arbeiten, dasz sobald als möglich *auch in Deutschland ein besserer Zustand* herbeigeführt werde, dem ähnlich, dessen man sich in den Vereinigten Staaten erfreut, und deutsche politische Flüchtlinge mit Rath und That zu unterstützen." The society appears openly for the first time on the occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July of the same year. It attracted widespread attention.

⁴ Cf. Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 76.

Cincinnati, and in Canton, Ohio. The great Hamburg fire in 1842 also called forth much sympathy in America, a committee being appointed in Philadelphia to collect funds for the relief of the sufferers.

The enthusiasm for the struggles in the Fatherland, however, soon began to cool. The new-comers became so much interested in the wonderful business activity of the United States that they were gradually swallowed up in it, so that their interest in what was going on in Europe was soon lost. They became successful merchants, manufacturers, editors, physicians, and even lawyers. This cooling off in their patriotism was also caused partly by the fact that the excitement had partially subsided in Germany. Although the oppression continued, the resistance was kept down so firmly that it was felt to be impossible to accomplish anything. For several years, therefore, before the arrival of the "Achtundvierziger" business interests had so occupied the attention of the German-Americans that they almost lost sight of what was going on in the Fatherland.

Accordingly, when the "Achtundvierziger" came, bringing with them radical theories in regard to the position due the Germans in America, they were in many instances received coldly, and sometimes with hostility. They had left their homes as political fugitives, and in coming to America had expected to be received with open arms by the Germans, and to be treated as martyrs to the sacred cause of liberty. They were, to a large extent, men of education, but entirely unpractical. The hardships of a pioneer's life were unsuited to their former manner of life. Many of them were unable to adapt themselves to their new surroundings and were compelled to accept whatever offered itself as a means of support. Some went into newspaper work, and it is at this period that many of the German-American newspapers were founded.

The "Achtundvierziger"¹ looked upon the Germans who had

¹ It is necessary to remember that the name "Achtundvierziger" is applied not only to those who came in the year 1848, but also, to those coming in the next few years. As a matter of fact only a few of the so-called "Achtundvierziger" came in this year. Not until the years 1850 and 1851 did the number of exiles become large.

come before them as, to certain degree, traitors to the cause of German liberty. They had become entirely too good Americans, and had almost given up their nationality. Two parties were formed. The "Zweiunddreisziger" were dubbed "Die Grauen" and the "Achtundvierziger" "Die Grünen." The "Grauen" refused to allow themselves to be treated as school boys by the "Grünen," so the relations between the two parties became strained. Concessions were, however, in time made on both sides.

The forty-eighters acknowledged the immense difficulties with which those had been compelled to contend who had come when the country was in an entirely uncultivated condition. While the other party recognised the spirit animating the new-comers¹ and felt that the German-Americans would later be grateful to them for their efforts to awaken interest in culture in the New World.²

The "Achtundvierziger" were even to a less degree *bona fide* residents of the United States than those who had come over in 1832 and the following years. Arrived here they waited from month to month expecting new outbreaks³ in Europe which would make it possible for them to return and to recommence their opposition to the governments. They regarded their stay

¹ *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol v, p. 102, ff. "Diese (*i. e.* die 'Achtundvierziger') brachten nicht die Sucht nach Gelderwerb, sondern sie brachten Ideen und kulturhistorische Bestrebungen auf amerikanischen Boden mit. Mag das Ziel, für dessen Erreichung die deutsche Jugend Freiheit, Blut, Leben und das Aufenthaltsrecht im Vaterlande opferte, zu weit gesteckt gewesen sein, die Bewegung von 1848 hat dennoch den Anstoss zu neuem Aufleben der erschlafften deutschen Nation in beiden Welten gegeben."

² *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. ix, p. 59. "Alles was die Deutschen hier besitzen, unsere Presse, täglich, wöchentlich, monatlich, unser Vereinswesen, unsere Turn- Schützen- und Gesang-vereine, unsere Bühne und unsere Bildungsanstalten, ist zum grössten Theil das Werk der Achtundvierziger. . . . Mit den Achtundvierzigern geht die Blüthezeit des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Lebens dahin, und nach dem gibt es nur ein rascheres oder langsames Sterben, wenn nicht unvorhergesehene äussere Umstände eintreten und der ganzen Sache einen neuen Geist und neuem Leben den Impuls verleihen."

³ Many of those who had come over in the thirties hastened back when the disturbances of the year 1848 became known in America.

here as merely transient, and hence they opposed, strenuously, all efforts which tended to make them less German.

The widespread interest in revolutionary attempts in Europe among the German-Americans made them believe that it was possible to obtain moral and even more substantial support¹ here in America. The news of the outbreak of the February Revolution and of the uprisings in Germany which followed it was received with very great enthusiasm in many parts of the United States. In St. Louis, on the 15th of April, 1848, a large mass meeting, presided over by Dr. George Engelmann, was held before the court-house—it having been impossible to secure a hall large enough to hold everybody who wished to attend. Speeches were made by several of the most prominent Germans in the city and committees on finance and for the dissemination of information were appointed. The mayor and the city council were asked to assist in arranging a great demonstration at first set for April 20th, which was, however, not held until the 26th. All nationalities living in the city—French, Italians, Poles, Irish and Americans took part in it, but the moving spirits were for the most part Germans. It was one of the most elaborate affairs that had ever been arranged in St. Louis. The German military companies and singing societies, together with several Irish and Roman Catholic societies, formed a procession in the morning, which passed through the principal streets, and the festivities were concluded in the evening with a torchlight procession. A similar demonstration was also held in Buffalo.

The Pittsburg *Courier* of the 3d of May, 1848, gives a lengthy account of the founding of a "Republikanischer Freiheitsverein" in Pittsburg. A largely attended meeting was held at the court-house, at which prominent German citizens delivered speeches upon the condition of affairs in Europe.² Still another demon-

¹ Immediately after the announcement of the breaking out of the revolution of 1848 in Germany, societies were formed in Louisville and elsewhere for the support of the fugitives.

² The following resolutions were passed: "I. Beschlossen: dass die Deutschen in und um Pittsburg einen Verein gründen, welcher den Namen führe, 'Republikanischer Freiheits-Verein.' Der Zweck des Vereins ist: Unsere deutschen Brüder zur Erlangung ihrer Freiheit in der Weise zu unterstützen,—

stration was held, and this time in Cincinnati.¹ A permanent organization was effected, officers being elected and committees appointed. At this meeting resolutions were passed asking "Das Deutsche Liebhaber Theater" and the "Liedertafel" to give performances for the benefit of what was called the "Revolutionscasse." It was furthermore decided to ask permission to take up collections in the churches. This was actually done on the four Sundays following the meeting. In addition to this "Die deutschen Frauen und Jungfrauen wurden gebeten, eine schwarz-roth-goldene Fahne anzufertigen, die dann dem ersten deutschen Freistaate zugeschickt werden sollte."²

On the 12th of January of the year following a fair was held in Cincinnati to raise money to aid the revolutionary movements that were then taking place in Germany. In this undertaking the women were chiefly active. In January of the same year in Belleville, Ill., a bazaar was also held for this purpose. Another society was founded in Glasgow, Mo., on the 15th of February, 1849, which was, however, not so important as those above mentioned, formed in the larger cities.

These demonstrations and the formation of societies show that there still existed among the Germans in America an interest in the affairs of the Fatherland in spite of the fact that they had given up a great many of their most radical theories, and had devoted themselves to business pursuits rather than politics. It was, therefore, natural that the "Achtundvierziger," in hearing of the enthusiasm which the events in Europe called forth, supposed that their arrival in America would be looked

a. dass solche politische Flüchtlinge Deutschlands welche als kühne und thätige Verfechter der Freiheit bekannt sind, und die der ferneren Thätigkeit entbehren, und

b. dass die hilflosen Hinterbliebenen der für die Freiheit Gefallenen unterstützt werden. Mittel zu obigem Zwecke . . . Gründung eines Fonds. 1. Durch Collection bei der Massenversammlung. 2. durch Sammeln von Unterschriften Solcher, welche einen periodischen (z. b. monatlicher) beliebigen Beitrag liefern."

¹ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. v, p. 55, ff.

² *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. v, p. 52.

forward to with pleasure. As has been shown they were disappointed in that they were, in certain quarters, received coldly. Nevertheless, many circumstances seemed to contribute to increase the confidence of the new comers in the belief that the time was peculiarly appropriate for the carrying out of radical plans in America. Not only were the Germans in America interested in the success of the revolutions in Europe, but also the native Americans showed very great enthusiasm in this direction. A wave of revolutionary zeal swept over the United States beginning early in the forties and continuing through the decade into the fifties.¹ The Hungarian struggle for independence was watched with great interest in the United States. . . . The Americans seemed to see in this a repetition of their fight against England. The enthusiastic reception given Kossuth, in 1851 and 1852, was also occasioned by this feeling. Besides, the Polish refugees were treated very handsomely by the Americans.² In fact, so much interest had been shown by the Americans in the Poles and Hungarians that the Germans ventured to ask Congress for a land grant upon which they might found a state where all the exiles could assemble in safety. This petition was, however, not granted.

Another remarkable event as showing the interest among the Germans in the revolutionary cause at home was the tour of Gottfried Kinkel through the United States. This journey was undertaken for the purpose of collecting money for the support of the revolutionists at home. Although it was not so successful as had been expected, a considerable amount of money was ob-

¹ Cf. Von Holst *Constitutional History of the United States*, vol. iii, p. 556. "The ideal impulse that ran through Europe in 1843 had found a sympathetic disposition of mind in the United States. As then, after a short time the reaction gained a preponderance, so here, too, a strong opposition soon set in. People it is true, continued to hold forth violently about European tyrants, bade the fugitives heartily welcome and fêted the Hungarian champions of liberty in particular in an absurd and almost unworthy fashion, but a materialistic spirit was taking possession of daily wider circles of the people—a spirit that readily allowed twice two to be three in matters of ideal interest provided it could make twice two five where material interests were concerned."

² A land grant was offered the Polish refugees by Congress, but it was declined.

tained. Kinkel had hoped to revolutionize Germany by means of a two million loan.

Encouraged, therefore, by the great interest among the Germans in revolutionary undertakings and by the lenient and somewhat careless attitude of the Americans, the "Achtundvierziger," soon after their arrival in America, began to lay plans for the founding of a new home that should have all the blessings of the old Fatherland, at the same time doing away with its grievances and faults. They confidently believed that sooner or later the United States would be Germanized. This was to be accomplished in two ways: First, from the intellectual superiority of the Germans, it was supposed that the native Americans would not be able to resist them.¹ Second, they proposed to found German states in different parts of the United States, and with these as centres to act upon the surrounding territory and gradually to bring it under the German sway.

According to the former of these plans the conquest of America would at first be intellectual, and proceeding from this, political. The process of Germanization would be somewhat slow, but none the less sure. An anonymous correspondent from America of the *Gartenlaube* for 1856, page 109, in article on "Die Deutschen in America" in discussing this subject, makes the following statement: "Die deutschen Familien mit ihren gesellschaftlichen Turn- Musik- und Gesangfesten wirken unter diesen Amerikanern bloß dadurch, daß sie unter ihnen leben als Missionäre. In Amerika wird das Germanenthum seine Mission am ersten erfüllen, weil es hier die meisten Vertreter und Streiter findet. Diese Mission erfüllt sich ohne Aufsehen sicher, ununterbrochen durch bloßes deutsches Leben, Arbeiten, Produciren, Essen und Trinken, Wirthschaften, Turnen und Tanzen, durch gedrucktes, gesungenes und gesprochenes Wort. Diese Art der Wirksamkeit ist unscheinbar, unmerklich, unbesiegbar, nicht durch einzelne

¹ Cf. *The New Rome or The United States of the World* by Charles Goepf and Theodor Poesche. "Their (*i. e.* the Germans) duty is that of the exile of Constantinople after its destruction by the Ottomans: The Revival of letters in the West.

Anstrengungen und Siege auf welche eine Niederlage folgen könnte."

The second and more important way of Germanizing America was by founding states in different parts of the United States, and, proceeding from these states as centers, it was expected that in time the whole country would be won. Were these colonies to become states in the Union, or were they to be independent? ¹ It will be shown in some cases it was expected that they would be incorporated in the American Union, but for the most part it was proposed to make them independent. At first these plans had been elaborated in Germany; soon, however, in the larger cities of the United States similar schemes were discussed, and in some cases attempted. The most important of the early societies formed for founding German states was the "Giessener Auswanderungs Gesellschaft."² This association was formed in

¹ Cf. *Niles Register*, p. 148; "Wholesale Emigration. *The Stuttgart Universal Gazette* of September 2nd, announces that a plan is in progress in the southwest of Germany, to make up a state and ship it over to the United States to become a twenty-fifth member of the confederacy. The following notice of the project appears in that publication: 'According to accounts from the southwest of Germany a society of liberal men are organizing a grand plan for emigrating to North America.

The emigration has hitherto been precarious because it did not rest on any solid foundation and because the means were not concentrated. But now it is different, as the object is to form a *New Germany* beyond the ocean, which is to receive all those whose hopes and claims to liberty and right are disappointed in old Germany. In order to be admitted into the confederation of the United States of America the law requires the number of free inhabitants above 25 years of age to be 60,000 and this number is to be assembled before any further measures can be taken. Many of the Germans established in North America will join their countrymen and the plan is so popular in Germany that scarcely any doubts are entertained of its being successful.

We shall bid them welcome when they arrive, but the idea of forming a state is chimerical and would be injurious on many accounts. There is a mistake as to the number of persons, etc., required to form a state which also cannot be formed unless after passing through a territorial government, etc."

² "Die Bildung eines deutschen Staates, der natürlich ein Glied der Vereinigten Staaten werden müßte, doch mit Aufrechterhaltung einer Staatsform, welche das Fortbestehen deutscher Gesittung, deutscher Sprache sichert und ein ächtes freies und volkstümliches Leben schafft."

The above is stated as the object of the Giessener Gesellschaft as contained

Giessen in the year 1833. The membership consisted of Hessians, Westphalians and inhabitants of the "Main Lands" and the Saxon duchies. They were for the most part well-to-do and educated men. The leader was Paul Follen. Follen was one of those who had been much disappointed at the result of the uprisings in 1833. In consequence of this feeling he published his "Aufruf" for a meeting of those persons who were dissatisfied with affairs at home and who were willing to try their fortunes in the New World. At the meeting which was held an emigration society was formed.

Missouri¹ was selected as the place of settlement, and two members were sent over to fix upon a suitable spot for the proposed colony.² Upon their return an adverse report was made and they both refused to go back to America. Follen was, however, not discouraged. He succeeded in getting together a party of over two hundred, and the first section left Giessen in February, 1834, under his leadership. The ship "Olbers" had been chartered, and the party left Bremen in the latter part of the same month. On board the ship dissensions arose which already seriously threatened the success of the undertaking. After the arrival of the party in America these dissensions became more violent, so that during the journey to the West a troop of colonists deserted at every stop. Those few who got as far as St. Louis secured land in the neighborhood of the city. Paul Follen bought the farm that had been owned by Duden, where he lived for a long while. It became necessary to give up the original intention of forming a state. The party which had

in a pamphlet called *Aufforderung und Erklärung in Betreff einer Auswanderung im Groszen aus Deutschland in die Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten*. Giessen 1833. Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. i, p. 22. Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 300 ff.

¹ The selection of Missouri was due solely to the influence of Duden's book. After the arrival of the society in America, the members found that Duden's descriptions had been overdrawn and he is called in the letters written home, "Duden der Lügenhund."

² Cf. The plan of Lenau to come to America in advance of the emigration society (of which he was a member) to select land.

started out from Germany became so scattered that any attempt of this kind was impossible. The whole enterprise ended in disaster.

The failure of this colony was a great blow to the progress of the Germanisation of America.¹ In leaving Germany they had expected to found in America a "New Germany," which at first would be one of the United States, but would still have such a form of government as would insure the preservation of the German language and the German manner of life. Extensive preparations had been made.² There was no lack of intelligence, money or enthusiasm—the chief reason for its failure was the lack of accurate knowledge of America and the romantic, rather than practical character of the undertaking.

A great many other smaller societies³ were founded upon the model of the Giessen Society, but they met with no more success. The colonists immediately after landing generally became scattered. Whatever might have been the lofty ideals of the immigrants before leaving Germany regarding their mission in the United States, as soon as they landed every one felt it imperative to look out for his own interest.

One of the most ambitious of the attempts to found a state which had their origin in America was the society founded in Philadelphia in 1836. The following was announced as its object: "*Einigung der Deutschen in Nord-Amerika und dadurch Begründung eines neuen deutschen Vaterlandes.*" A preliminary

¹ A second company of emigrants was sent out by this same society later in the year, under the leadership of Friedrich Münch. In this party there were sixty families, three hundred and fifty persons in all. One-half of these were from Thuringia and the other half from Hessen. After a voyage of eight weeks, on the Ship "*Medora*," they arrived in Baltimore in August, 1834. They arrived in St. Louis in September.

² Along with a great many useless things, a large bell was brought which was to be hung in the city hall of the new city. This found its resting-place in a stable. A telescope, which had been brought along, fared little better.

³ One of these was the so-called "*Rheinhessische oder Wormser Gesellschaft*" which settled in Arkansas in 1833. The leader of the company was the much persecuted Pfarrer Klingenhöfer. The company consisted of about 60 persons. It was also short lived.

meeting was held in the Penn Hotel, in Philadelphia, on the 19th of August, 1836, for the purpose of organization. At a later meeting officers were elected from among the representative German-American residents of the city. A committee was appointed to find a suitable site for the proposed state. It was decided to make the society a stock company, and in selling the stock no difficulty whatever was experienced. Very great enthusiasm prevailed. One of the speakers at the meeting at which the constitution was ratified is said to have made the following remark: "Ja wahrlich deutsche Brüder, wenn je etwas, Groszes und Glänzendes für die deutsche Nation in diesem Freiheitslande entstehen soll, so musz es diese Gesellschaft werden." More than twelve thousand acres of land were bought in Gasconade County, on the Missouri River, and the city of Hermann was founded. The land that was not occupied by the city was divided into farms, which were sold at a moderate price. Some of the settlers came in 1837, but it was not until 1838 that the great body of colonists arrived. In some respects the affair was a great success. It was in the first place managed by men who were familiar with the business methods of the United States. This was a decided advantage over the attempts which had their origin entirely in Germany. Many found here comfortable homes in a healthy and beautiful country. The political part of the original program, however, met with no success, inasmuch as the colony had no Germanizing influence whatever outside its own borders.

At this time Texas offered a good field for undertakings of this kind. The first plan of German colonization in this State was the one which had its origin in New York in 1839. The "Germania" Society, on the 2d of November of this year, sent out from New York a company of 130 persons to found a German state in Texas. The members of this company had pledged themselves to cultivate a tract of land in common for a period of three years. At the expiration of this time the land would be divided. The voyage from New York to Galveston was made on the brig "North," which belonged to the Society. Provisions

to last six or eight months had been procured before leaving New York, together with all sorts of farming implements, etc. Shortly after the arrival the president and several other officers of the Society fled, taking with them all the money that was in the treasury. The success of this undertaking was no greater than those already mentioned.

In the year 1841 a communistic society was founded in Philadelphia under the leadership of Heinrich Ginal, a free-thinking clergyman. It consisted of 300 persons and was located in McKean County, Pennsylvania. The settlement was called Teutonia. A city was laid out, which became known as Ginalsburg. Its growth was slow, and when the colony went to pieces, in 1844, there were not more than 400 members. This scheme was, strictly speaking, socialistic rather than political.¹

The most notable of these societies, both because of its magnitude and because of its official backing, was the so-called "Adelsverein." This was the first attempt that had ever been made to found a German colony in America under official patronage.² The position of the German governments had, on the

¹ Cf. also Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter* which had its origin in New York. Its object was the emancipation of labor from capital. Weitling was editor of the communistic journal *Die junge Generation*. Cf. Fenner von Fenneberg *Transatlantische Studien*. Stuttgart, 1861.

"Herr Wilhelm Weitling, früher durch seine eifrige Bevorwortung communistischer Grundsätze bekannt, hat schon seit mehreren Jahren in Folge bitterer Erfahrungen, das Unhaltbare solcher Ideen erkannt, und ist gegenwärtig ein Beamter in der Kanzlei der Emigrations-Commission, und vertritt mit Eifer die Interessen seiner Landsleute."

A similar socialistic society was also started in Philadelphia and was to be located in Northern Virginia, where a large tract of land had been bought. Cf. Koerner, *Das Deutsche Element*, p. 90, ff.

Later the "Ansiedlungsverein des Sozialistischen Turnerbundes von Nordamerika" founded the town of New Ulm in Minnesota in 1855. It was to be a sort of socialistic settlement.

² In the year 1843 an attempt had been made to found a Belgian and German colony in East Tennessee, which, however, came to nothing because of the refusal of the Legislature to grant permission. The King of Belgium was at the head of this affair. This same society founded later the colonies St. Thomas de Guatemala and St. Katharina in Brazil.

whole, not been inimical to the emigration to America,¹ although they were for a long time at a loss to know how to turn it to their profit. On the 20th of April, 1842, an address was issued by Duke Adolph, of Nassau, and twelve other German princes and nobles relative to the founding of a German colony in Texas. In May, 1842, Graf Joseph von Boos-Waldeck and Graf Victor von Leiningen came to Texas to inspect the country and to decide upon a suitable site for the future settlement. Boos-Waldeck remained and founded the plantation "Nassau," on Jack Creek, while Leiningen returned in May, 1843, and gave a favorable report of the country.

As said before Texas at this time was peculiarly suited to undertakings of this sort. It was an independent state, very sparsely settled, and at the same time covering an immense territory. The soil was fertile and the climate delightful. Everything seemed to contribute to make this undertaking successful, both commercially and politically. England is said² to have been favorably disposed toward the plan and was ready to assist with money. This friendliness on the part of Great Britain is to be explained by the fact that the British saw in this an opportunity for a foreign power to gain a foot-hold in America. The plan became widely known and met with approbation in all parts of Germany. It was generally spoken of as the "Mainzer Adelsverein."³ The following were among the members:

¹ They, however, viewed with alarm the revolutionary agitation which was being continued in America against the governments. On this account the circulation in most of the German States of *Die Alte und Neue Welt* along with certain New York newspapers was forbidden by the censorship. Cf. Koerner, p. 76.

² Eickhoff *In der Neuen Heimat*, p. 325: "England welches dem Anschlusse des Freistaates an die Amerikansche Union entgegen war, lächelte ermuthigend nach Mainz hinüber und würde ohne Zweifel das Unternehmen mit Geldmitteln unterstützt haben, wenn der Verein darum nachgesucht hätte."

³ Another attempt which was made later found a colony in America with official backing is referred to as follows in the *Atlantis* for September, 1858, p. 235.

"In der Sitzung nämlich der Bundesversammlung vom 21ten Februar, 1856, stellte der Baierische Gesandte einen Antrag auf gemeinsame Organisation der Auswanderung nach Gegenden zu lenken, wo die Auswanderer nicht der Spe-

Herzog von Nassau, Protector des Vereins, Herzog von Meiningen, Herzog von Coburg-Gotha, Prinz von Preussen, der Landgraf von Hessen-Homburg, Der Fürst von Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Prinz Moritz von Nassau, der Fürst von Leiningen, der Fürst zu Neuwied, der Fürst zu Solms-Braunfels, der Fürst zu Colloredo-Mansfeld, der Fürst zu Schöenburg-Waldenburg, der Prinz Alexander zu Solms-Braunfels, der Prinz Carl zu Solms-Braunfels, Graf Neu Leiningen Westenburg, Graf Friederich Alt Leiningen Westenburg, Graf Victor Alt Leiningen Westenburg, Graf Christian Neu-Leiningen Westenburg, Graf Hatzfeld, Graf Kuyphausen, Graf Ysenburg-Meeholz, Graf Colloredo-Mansfeld, Graf Remuesse, Graf Lilienberg und Graf Carl zu Castell.¹

It had been perceived that for a long time, in spite of the outpouring of emigrants from all parts of Germany, no advantage seemed to accrue to the mother country. Quite the contrary, immense sums of money were leaving Germany every year. In view of this condition of affairs these noblemen saw that the only way to derive any advantage from the emigration was to give it the seal of authority, and, if possible, to direct the whole current to one point. The movement had dissipated itself in different parts of the United States. If only the different parties could be combined and made to see that in union there is strength, they thought the prospect for the foundation of a New Germany in America would be very good. On paper the plan looked admirable, and it seems hard to understand why it did not meet with a larger degree of success than did fall to it.

A tract of land was bought from Henry Fischer, who had lived for some time in Texas, and who at this time was the Texan consul in Mainz. The "Verein" promised free transportation to the place of settlement, a block-house, and 160 acres of land for each man, or 320 acres for a family, all in return for the sum of 300 Gulden for a single adult, or 600 Gulden for a

kulation oder dem bloszen Zufall preisgegeben würden sondern Aussicht auf eine sichere Existenz gewöhnen, wo sie ferner ihre Nationalität bewahren und mit dem Vaterlande in Beziehung bleiben könnten."

¹ Cf. Eickhoff *In der Neuen Heimat*, p. 323.

family. Churches, schools and hospitals were to be built as soon as possible.

In May, 1844, Prince Carl zu Solms-Braunfels sailed from Bremen for Texas with the title of "General Commissär." In the same year 150 families followed him arriving at Indianola in December. The General Commissär found upon his arrival that the company had been swindled by Fischer, as the land was unfit for the purposes for which it had been bought. He therefore selected another site, and, upon the arrival of the first body of immigrants in March, 1845, began the plans for the city of New Braunfels. After the difficulties of the long journey from the coast to the settlement were successfully endured things went well for a time. A second body arrived a few months later. Soon, however, difficulties began to arise, caused chiefly by the insufficient amount of money which had been forwarded from the headquarters of the society in Mainz. The Commissioner, Solms, became discouraged, and recognizing the difficulties of the undertaking, resigned and went back to Germany. He was succeeded by Freiherr von Meusebach, who arrived in the Summer of 1845, and at once introduced a more economical system of management. While on an expedition which he made to select the site for another settlement,¹ news came that a party of more than one thousand immigrants had arrived in Galveston. He hastened to that city and found that the company had sent this large body of colonists, but had forwarded no money for their sustenance. Meusebach went to New Orleans to try to raise a loan. In the meanwhile great suffering prevailed among those who had just arrived. The number of immigrants increased every day until there were 2300 persons. They moved from Galveston to Indianola, as the means for conveyance to New Braunfels were not forthcoming. Here they were subjected to the greatest privation, most of them living in tents. Soon fever broke out and the death rate increased horribly. All efforts to get transportation failed because of the war which had

¹ This settlement later became Fredericksburg.

broken out with Mexico and which made it necessary that all means of transport should be pressed into military service. Several hundred joined the United States army and fought against the Mexicans; a larger number drifted away in small groups and settled in different parts of the neighboring country. A few penetrated as far as New Braunfels, but it is said nearly one thousand succumbed to the disease, which had been brought on by exposure and by the unhealthy location of the camp. After this fiasco very little further was attempted by the managers of the "Verein." It began to dawn upon them that they had misunderstood and miscalculated the difficulties of the enterprise, and they were compelled to acknowledge the impracticability of such undertakings.

Thus ended the most important of the efforts to found German states in America. Several other attempts were made later, but they were for the most part on a small scale and provoked very little comment. It will be seen that all the undertakings which have been discussed ended in dismal failure. The far-reaching political consequences which had been anticipated amounted to nothing. An explanation of this, as was indicated at the beginning of this chapter, may be found in the fact that the promoters of these undertakings were carried away by their imaginations; there was too much of the romantic about them. Most elaborate schemes were organized in Germany with almost no knowledge of the real condition of affairs in this country.

It is, however, hardly to be supposed that the great number of immigrants that were coming to America at this time left no traces upon American life and politics. The radical doctrines advanced by the "Zweiunddreissiger" and the "Achtundvierziger" were heard outside German circles. They came to the ears of Americans as well; and they did not go unnoticed.¹

¹ Cf. "The Naturalization Laws and Policy of the Roman Catholic Church," speech of Hon. W. R. Smith, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, January 15, 1855 (*Congressional Globe Appendix*, p. 94.)—"The foreigner believes that America is the natural rendezvous for all the exiled patriots and disaffected and turbulent persons of the earth, and that here they are to meet to form plans and concoct schemes to revolutionize all creation 'and the rest of mankind.'"

What was then the position of the inhabitants of the United States towards the German immigrants and more particularly to the theories advanced by them? ¹ Unquestionably the growth of "Know-nothingism" and "Nativism" was forwarded by the antagonistic position taken by the Germans towards American institutions. The Americans felt that if their wild speeches and theories were allowed to pass unnoticed they would in time become a serious menace. Accordingly a very great dislike and in some quarters an intense hatred was developed towards the German which showed itself upon all public occasions, but especially at elections.

One of the most important cities in this connection is Louisville. Here a great many of the hot-headed revolutionists had come together. The most violent plans were proposed by them, much to the terror of the older inhabitants who had experienced the dangers of earlier native American movements. The air became charged with the utterances of the foreign enthusiasts. The *Louisville Journal* took up the question and brought the doings of the Germans before its readers. The result was that the election of 1855 became the signal for a violent demonstration. On the 4th of August, in Louisville, every German who approached the polls and did not know the password of the "Know-nothings," was driven away with stones and clubs. Armed bands paraded through the city beating, plundering and

¹ Cf. *Niles Register*, p. 196; "A late paper says: 'Numbers are preparing to quit their country for the American States. In Rhenish Bavaria associations are forming for the purpose, and a deputation is said to be in readiness to start for the United States, in order to have communication with the government of that country and to purchase tracts which are to be peopled from hence and to be called "New Germany." Formerly the exiles were persons who went to seek fortune's favors. Now from some districts near the Rhine fifteen persons who each possess from £3,000 to £4,000 are making all ready. It is even said that wealth will leave that district in the hands of a few families to the amount of £100,000, a considerable sum for Germany, which is to be deserted because the people are treated with injustice. We shall give these, and all such as these, from any and every country a welcome, but the idea of settling in a large and compact body cannot be approved. In coming hither they should expect that their children at least will become Americans in habits, manners and feelings and be fully incorporated into the body of the citizens.'"

sometimes killing the defenceless Germans. The greatest excitement prevailed and the most disgraceful scenes were enacted.¹ This condition of affairs was not confined to Louisville, but probably in that city there was more violence displayed than anywhere else. As a result of this violent opposition of the Americans towards the Germans, it was felt in certain quarters that something should be done to conciliate the American national pride and at the same time give expression to the extreme radical tendencies of the "Achtundvierziger." This is the point of view from which the movement which culminated in the Wheeling Congress and the book *The New Rome* must be considered. The movement is above all things to be regarded in the light of a compromise on the part of the Germans toward the existing "Know-nothingism." The promoters of the new venture were also desirous of helping the revolutionary cause in Germany, and when they found that it was impossible to use direct methods, indirect means were resorted to.

In the early part of the year 1852 certain "Revolutions-Vereine" were founded in the most important cities of the East and also in a few of the western cities. The headquarters of the new league was at first in Philadelphia, afterwards in Boston. It later became known as the "Volksbund für die alte und neue Welt."² Its object was to form an "Universalrepublik" with

¹ Cf. L. Stierlin. *Der Staat Kentucky und die Stadt Louisville*. Louisville, 1873.

² This society was first known as the "American Revolutionary League for Europe." At a congress held in Philadelphia the following address and regulations were adopted on January 29, 1852: "Fellow Citizens, the Congress of the 'American Revolutionary League for Europe,' herewith submit the result of their deliberations to the judgment of the people, all parties of which were represented in that body.

"Earnestly resolved to find the means of terminating the desperate condition of the liberty-thirsty people of Europe, firmly convinced that the first great step to the attainment of this goal is the cordial co-operation of all who seek it, it was for us to explore the middle ground upon which all parties could honorably and cheerfully unite their forces.

"The conscious determination to achieve a revolution thorough and complete was the warrant for our actions, and of you, sovereign people, we ask the ratification of this warrant in the readiness with which you shall erect upon the founda-

the United States as the centre. In other words, to annex all the countries of the world to the United States. The motto of the United States *E pluribus Unum* was taken in the broadest possible sense. Out of all the political divisions a universal empire would be formed, just as this country was an aggregation of states. The originator of this movement was Carl Goepp, a young German, who had been compelled to leave Europe because of the part which he took in the disturbances of 1848. The radical doctrines proposed by Goepp were first published in a pamphlet entitled *E pluribus Unum* in 1852. The point of view in this tract is strictly American; it is rather an address to the American people than a statement of the theories of any German organization. The appearance in print of this document was hailed by certain of the "Achtundvierziger" as a happy solution of the question how America would be able to bring about freedom in Germany. The unusual character of

tion we have laid the superstructure of an extensive, yea, a universal fusion of all revolutionary elements. Let us then be up and doing! Our cause is noble, is sacred. The barriers that cramp the growth of active, intelligent and high-souled Nations are to be stricken down, mankind is to be restored to its humanity. Let the motto for the strife be union in the American Revolutionary League.

"The object of the league shall be the radical liberalization of the European continent; for which are required: 1. The overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of the Republic, because in the Republic alone can all the horrors of tyranny be prevented. 2. Direct and universal suffrage and the recall of representatives by the majority of their constituents, because this alone secures the supremacy of the popular will in the workings of popular institutions. 3. The abolition of standing armies and inviolability of the right of the people to bear arms, because the last resource of forcible resistance is the only protection against the last device of forcible usurpation. 4. The union for these ends of all persons, associations, parties and nations for the annihilation of oppression, because without such concerted efforts the organized power of tyrants is invincible." Act III *Means* Sec. 1.—Agitation as well in Europe as in America. Sec. 2.—Accumulation of a revolutionary fund. Sec. 3.—Formation of armed organizations desirous of entering personally into the struggle and of preparing it by military exercises.

Cf. "The Naturalization Laws and Policy of the Roman Catholic Church," speech of Hon. W. R. Smith, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives, January 15, 1855, *Congressional Globe Appendix*, 2nd Session of 33rd Congress, p. 94.

Goepp's views, at first, as was to be expected, caused great astonishment, but the novelty of his position and at the same time its radical nature cause it later to find much favor. Its success was greater in the West than in the more conservative eastern cities. Meetings to discuss it were held in Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Cleveland and Buffalo, as well as in most of the large cities on the Atlantic coast. It was decided to translate the document "in alle möglichen Sprachen." The culmination was reached when they resolved to hold a congress to discuss the best means of bringing the new doctrine before the public. A summons for a meeting in Wheeling, Virginia, on the 18th of September, 1852, was issued in the name of the "Volksbund für die alte und neue Welt," which had adopted Goepp's views *in toto*. Sixteen delegates responded to the call, representing a large number of societies in Philadelphia, Boston, Roxbury, Albany, Troy, Pittsburg, Newark, etc. A great many more representatives had been expected, but notwithstanding the small attendance meetings were held. The most important business transacted was the preparation of an address "An das Amerikanische Volk."¹ The efforts of the "Volksbund" seem to have spent themselves in this Wheeling congress, for afterwards very little more is heard of it.

These peculiar theories found further elaboration in a book published jointly by Theodor Poesche and Charles Goepp: *The*

¹ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, p. 90, ff. The address begins very formally as follows: "Der Congress des Volksbundes für die alte und neue Welt an das Amerikanische Volk. Vernehmt von Neuem unsere Stimme, Ihr habt den Anforderungen des blutenden Europa gelauscht, in Tönen ergossen wie die Welt nie wieder hören wird. Wir wollen diese Anstrengungen nicht wiederholen; was sie nicht auf jenem Felde zu Stande bringen konnten, geht über den Bereich menschlicher Kraft hinaus," etc. The document was signed by the following delegates: Dr. Conradin Homburg, *President*; E. Schlager, *Sekretär* aus Boston; Lemhart Roos, aus Newark; J. Müller, aus Cleveland; R. Fischer, aus Wheeling; C. Goepp, aus Philadelphia; C. Strobel, aus Wheeling; W. Rosenthal, aus Philadelphia; L. Meyer, aus Boston; Lorenz Kirchner, aus Troy; J. N. Winkle, aus Wheeling; G. Baczho, aus Albany; W. Rothacher, für London; J. Roth, aus Pittsburg; A. Gewig, aus Cincinnati und C. Hoffman, aus Pittsburg.

*New Rome; or, The United States of the World.*¹ It was dedicated to "Franklin Pierce, President of the United States, being a guess at the spirit in which he was elected." This book was written from the same point of view as *E pluribus Unum*. The authors always speak of themselves as Americans, and their work is even more American in its tone than the *E pluribus Unum* tract. The geographical, ethnographical, statistical, commercial, monetary and industrial observations and reflections are the work of Poesche. The historical, legal and metaphysical arguments, the details on American legal and political institutions are to a great extent the production of his colleague. Poesche wrote the first draft in German. Goepp following his arrangement reproduced it in English, interpolating his own ideas and such new thoughts as occurred to either or both, in their conversation and studies, as the work went on. The key to the whole book is found in the following extract in which the significance of the title becomes at once apparent (page 10):

"This *New Rome*, the American Union, is a reflection of the old, even in its geographical position. The Roman Empire, embracing the "orbis terrarum" of the geography of that time, was a political organization of the circle of lands that skirted the Mediterranean Sea, in the midst of which, like a great line of battle ships, was moored the Italian peninsula. So the American peninsula, its northern extremity connected with the mainland of the other continent by means of icebergs which have baffled our explorers as obstinately as the Rhaetian Alps whilom hemmed in the Roman pioneers, divides the ocean into its two great basins. In the middle of these peninsulas was founded, respectively, the Etrurian and the British colonies. Each looks to the East for the sources of its civilization. Each casts its eye first upon its native peninsula, and strives to reduce it to its undisputed sway. Thus the acquisition of all Italy was an important epoch in Roman politics; it supplied the base for further operations. Thus 'the continent is ours' is becoming more and more distinctly a leading American aspiration."

¹ Published by G. P. Putnam & Co., New York, 1853.

And again, on p. 47, the following significant passage is found : "America is the crucible in which European, Asiatic and African nationalities and peculiarities are smelted into unity. We have assigned to the Romanic nations the station of venerable old age, giving counsel from its treasured experiences ; to the Germanic the lusty action of maturity, just emancipated from tutelage ; and to the Slavonic, the eager attention of early youth, looking in anxiously while the men are working, and sometimes proud to offer assistance." The authors write very confidently. On page 8 they say "The following essay proposes to tell neither what might nor what should, but simply what must be." The whole work is divided into three parts, entitled, respectively, "Politics," "Social," "Organization," and the final part, which consists of only two pages, discusses "Language." The first subdivision of Part I (Politics) is "Present Projects," the second chapter "Internal Growth," the third "Constitution." In Chapter II the discussion of the statistics of immigration is taken up. Chapter III treats at length the United States Constitution, showing how well it lends itself to the scheme proposed. The fourth chapter in Part I is headed "Mission ;" chapter 5, "The Anglo-Saxons."

According to their manner of argument the confederation of all the States of North and South America is a question of only a few years. The time seemed ripe, California and New Mexico had just been annexed and the annexation of Cuba was being discussed.

" No pent-up Utica can hold our powers
The whole, the boundless continent is ours,"

was a favorite sentiment. With the whole of the American continent at its back, the United States would be in a position to contest for the possession of some of the English colonies. In this connection Australia is discussed at considerable length. The discovery of gold there had attracted immense crowds of immigrants. They say 1000 persons a day (in 1852) are leaving England for the Australian gold fields. Great numbers of

Americans were also sailing for Australia. The result of all this immigration would evidently result in some collision with the home government. The curious mixture of people which would be found there, would not be willing to submit to a government thousands of miles away. There would be a revolt. The Americans would of course come to the front and assume control of affairs, and then having gotten the reins of government, annexation to the United States would be assured.

They conclude then the discussion of this point by saying: "With all the continent and Australia in the American scale, the addition of the rest of the world will be a question of time regulated by American convenience." The infederation of England is treated as a very easy matter. On page 87 the following remarkable statement is made:

"The stupendous greatness of England is fictitious, and will only become natural when that empire shall have found its real centre; that centre is in the United States. The Anglican Empire is essentially oceanic, its dominions extend along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Pacific, the lesser and the greater ocean. America, lying in the midst of the ocean, is therefore its natural point of gravitation. The realization of an idea higher than could be developed in the mother island, that of the republican democracy, required a temporary segregation of the centre, but the former adjunct being now no longer merely the geographical centre, but the political and social focus, must take the lead. *England with her colonies must be annexed to the American Union.*"

Chapter VI treats "The Teutonic Race;" chapter VII "The Jews;" chapter VIII "The Slavonic Race."

According to the authors, Russia is the only nation of the earth that will offer any real resistance to the march of the United States. Russia dreamed also of an universal empire. When, therefore, the United States and Russia come together, "Then will the mastery of Europe be the prize of the death struggle between the Union and the Czar." Page 109, "Thus the lines are drawn. The choirs are marshalled on each wing.

of the world's stage ; Russia leading the one, the United States the other. Yet the world is too small for both, and the contest must end in the downfall of one and the victory of the other." Chapter IX is entitled "The Romanic Races," and chapter X "The Moguls." Thus ends the first part of the *New Rome*. Parts II and III are quite unimportant for the present discussion.

This book of Poesche and Goepp represents the acme of radicalism. Although at the time of its publication it found considerable favor, yet in a few years it became the laughing stock of all German-Americans. As far as reaching the great masses of the citizens of the United States is concerned, it seems to have failed completely in the expectation of its authors. The civil war and the events leading up to the war took precedence over all discussions of this kind, so that it was soon relegated, one might say, to oblivion. In spite of its fantastic character, it should not be considered as something altogether new and unhistorical. In certain respects it was the logical outcome of the long-continued method of considering America as a field for the trial of whatever was politically impossible in Europe. The fact that the rapid growth of Russia caused apprehension in some parts that the whole of Europe might some day come under the sway of Russia, is also important in this connection. The day when Napoleon seemed near carrying out his dreams of a universal empire had not been forgotten. The saying "*Panslavismus und Napoleonismus*" had become an every-day phrase. In *The New Rome* these ideas are transferred to America, where, just at this time, there was more or less enthusiasm for extending the bounds of the Union.

As applied to America this was certainly unique, but we notice in the whole tendency of the "Young German" movement a drift towards—what may be called for lack of a better word—"universality." A national literature should be discouraged and a literature of the world ought to take its place. In some quarters patriotism itself was frowned upon—patriotism was an animal impulse of the blood ; we ought to devote ourselves not to one nation but to the whole human race. I see, therefore, in the

world republic scheme of the Wheeling congress something that is not so thoroughly bizarre and unhistorical.

Up to the present only the most radical plans of the Germans have been treated. This, however, does not mean that all Germans who came to this country during the period of 1830 to 1855 were in accord with these theories. It is safe to say that nearly all the immigrants believed firmly that the Germans had a mission to fulfill in the United States. Not a "mission" in the sense that they expected to benefit the natives, but rather in that they supposed the "German element" would play an important rôle in the future of the republic—a much more important part than what has occurred since, has shown to be the case. The majority of them believed that this importance would show itself in a political way. To such as these the expectation of Germanizing the United States was a reality. Others believed that the Germans had no future here as a separate political power. That they would achieve most by losing themselves in the life of the great republic at the same time contributing whatever of culture they might possess to help make a new American civilization. In other words, that the Germans would accomplish most in an educational way.¹ Most of the German-Americans, whether they believed it best for the Germans to become denationalized or not, thought that they could accomplish most by allowing themselves to be formally naturalized and to ally themselves to one of the existing American political parties. Some of the more radical proposed the formation of a new party, the cardinal principles of which would be the abolition of slavery and puritanism. These were the most repulsive features of American life to the German immigrants. Most of the political exiles were thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of "Young

¹ The *Anzeiger des Westens* favored strongly the idea of the Germans giving up their nationality when they came to America and becoming at once Americanized. Fr. Kapp believed also that the German element had no prospect of long holding together.

Cf. also Julius Froebel, *Die Deutsche Auswanderung und ihre culturhistorische Bedeutung*; *Fünfzehn Briefe an den Herausgeber der Allgemeinen Auswanderungs Zeitung*. Leipzig, 1858.

Germany," and one of the most important features of this school was its unfriendliness towards Christianity. When, therefore, men who held such theories as these came to America one of the first things that struck them, and which, at the same time, disgusted them, was what they called "puritanismus."¹ Against this and against slavery was directed a great deal of the literary activity which showed itself in the numerous German newspapers which sprang up everywhere. In *Der Amerikamüde* frequent references are found to the hypocrisy of the Americans.

The seat of this movement to form a new political party was in the West, especially in Kentucky and Louisville. Emil Klau-precht in his book (*Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio-Thales*. Cinn. 1864.) gives an account of this attempt as follows: page 187; "Das Jahr 1854 sah ein reges politisches Leben unter den Ankömmlingen von 1848. In Louisville vereinigten sich die deutschen Fortschrittsfreunde auf eine Plattform, entworfen von Heinzen, Domschcke, Burgeler, und Wittig, welche der Sklaverei und dem Kirchenwesen den Krieg erklärte. In der Freimaurer-halle von Cincinnati wurde Ende März die Abgeordneten von 17 Vereinen Ohios unter Vorsitz des Herrn Müller aus Cleveland zu diesem Zweck versammelt. Sie entwarfen eine Plattform ähnlich der von Louisville."

It will be seen that the new party sprang into life at a comparatively late date, although it had been felt for a long time that such a party was desirable, provided it could gain sufficient following to make it a factor in the elections. The sequel showed that this hesitation was well founded, inasmuch as the new party never met with any success. Its importance consists merely in the fact that it shows the intense opposition that was felt towards the American religious sects and towards slavery. The position occupied by the German to the various political parties requires a more special treatment than is possible in the present investigation.² The "German element" did

¹ That the Germans were opposed to Christianity soon became known among the Americans. In Louisville about the year 1854 one of the Presbyterian Churches made a special effort to "convert these heathens."

² Koerners book, *Das Deutsche Element*, has to do very largely with the history of the part the Germans have taken in the American political parties.

not, in a body, join any one particular party. Germans voted one way or the other, according to whatever seemed best for their own personal interest. Local conditions, to a certain extent, governed their action.

In concluding this study the question naturally suggests itself. Have there been any survivals of the radical tendencies of the immigrants of 1832 and 1848? In answer to this question it is only necessary to refer to the efforts of a society known as *Der deutsche Kriegerbund* which is in existence to-day, and to an article explaining the objects of this organization contained in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for January, 1895, entitled "Die Deutschen in Amerika," von Wilhelm Weber, Pastor in Belleville, Ill.

In this article the author claims that one-third of the inhabitants of the United States are of German extraction. Therefore, the German influence should be "massgebend," and the United States a German empire. But the German is required by the natives to play a very subordinate part. This is not as it should be. Are there any remedies for this condition of affairs? Pastor Weber thinks there are, and finds the important agent in bringing about the reforms, the foundation of what he calls "Musterschulen." These schools will be supported by the "Deutsche Kriegerbund," which is an organization of Germans living in America who at some time have been in the German army. Branches exist in many of the cities of the Union. He proceeds as follows:—"Ich nenne nur diesen Bund den einzigen und wahren Repräsentanten des deutschen Reiches in Amerika. Das deutsche Heer hat durch seine Siege das Reich geschaffen," etc.

The chief point of the argument consists in the statement that in order to preserve the German national feeling among the German-Americans, it is necessary to continue the use of German as an educational and conversational medium. Schools accordingly will be founded which will offer instruction to children of German parents for a period of about four years, the child beginning the course at the age of ten. German teachers will be

secured from Germany, men, who, although it will be necessary to accept a small salary here, when they become too old to teach, a pension will be assured them by the German home government. The superintendents of instruction will be expected to make their reports to Germany. Thus Pastor Weber wishes to place the whole system under the patronage of the German empire, making the system of *Musterschulen* an instrument for extending the power of the empire. The whole plan is elaborated with great care. A way is found for providing for the necessary expenses, and all the difficulties of the undertaking are met in a manner which seems to perfectly satisfy the author of the article.

The proposed system is as radical and as impossible as any of the plans suggested by the most "*doctrinaire*" of the "Achtundvierziger." This one article then is sufficient to show that hopes of the Germanization of America are not yet dead in some quarters.

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VITA.

I, Thomas Stockham Baker, was born on the 23rd of March, 1871, near Aberdeen, Maryland. My early education was received in the Baltimore public schools. After a three years' course at the Johns Hopkins University, I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1891. In October of the same year, I began advanced studies in German, French and History, which have been continued through the past four years. During the Summer semester of 1892, I attended courses at the University of Leipzig. In 1893, I was appointed Fellow in German at the Johns Hopkins University, and have held during the year 1894-95 a Fellowship by courtesy.

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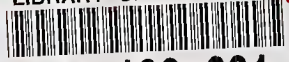
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